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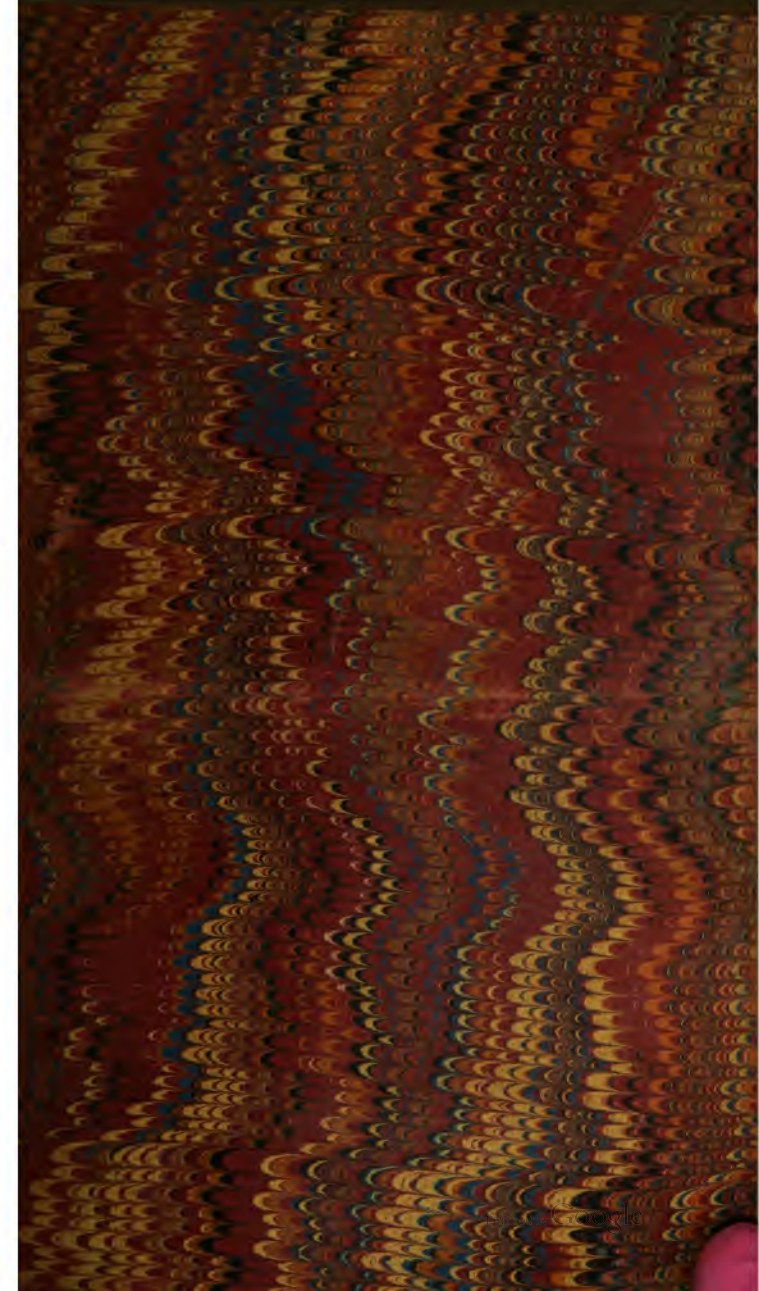
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John Gorton

HISTORY
OF THE
REGENCY AND REIGN
OF
King George the Fourth.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

LONDON:
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1830.

PREFACE.

1. THE proper business of a Preface is twofold; first, to tell the reader *why* the work is written and published; and, second, to describe to him the *manner* in which it is done, and to apprise him of other circumstances the want of a previous knowledge of which might produce inconvenience to him.

2. With regard to the first, the *why* is, that we may have, at once, a record of the acts and character of the king in question, while these are all fresh in our minds, while a great part of the actors are still alive, while official and other documents are within our reach, while the field is fairly open for controversy on the matters stated, and, above all, that the history may

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be *of use*; that it may afford us an example of what we ought to follow, or warn us against what we ought to shun. Of what *use* to us of this day is the history of the tyrant, Henry VIII., or that of his racking and ripping-up daughter, Elizabeth, compared to what it would have been to our fathers, if written at the close of their savage reigns? And, of what *use* would the history of the transactions of the late regency and reign be to our great grandchildren, compared to the use that it must naturally be *to us*? In short, history, like all other writing, is valuable in the proportion in which it is calculated to produce good effects; in proportion as it is calculated to stimulate men to useful exertion, or to make them shun that which is mischievous; in proportion as it is calculated to have a practical effect in the affairs and on the condition of men. To have these effects it must come, not only before the nation have forgotten the transactions and characters to

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which it relates, but before it has ceased to feel the effects of those transactions. Ancient history may, with a few learned and deep-thinking persons, be of real use ; but, to the mass of mankind, it can be but little other than romance.

3. It may be said, that the writer, having lived during the period, or part of it, of which he is the historian, may possibly have been engaged in the transactions of it himself, and cannot, therefore, be expected to be so *impartial* as he ought to be. But, what is the *great business* of history ? It is to *record facts* ; and, if the facts be *true*, of what consequence are the feelings of the historian ? He may, indeed, when delineating motives and consequences and characters, give way to his bias ; but, then, as in the case of the facts, he exposes himself to contradiction, and the matter is set right ; discussion takes place ; and out of discussion comes the establishment of truth.

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4. There is, however, one disadvantage to set against the advantages of history written immediately at the end of a reign; and that is, that, in dealing with *character*, the historian, in this country and under our present laws, must take great care as to what he says. The writer, at Brighton, who was burnt in effigy, the other day, for hinting that the present king was *not a strong-minded man*, and the two brothers, who were shut up in different jails, and heavily fined, for comparing the late king to SARDANAPALUS, afford instances that it is not very safe to deal with *living* characters; and the prosecution of the latter for a *libel* on George the Third, years after he was *dead*, shows clearly, that the *nearness* of the historian to the period, the transactions of which he records, must be, as far as relates to *delineation of character*, a great disadvantage. He must (and, upon the whole, this is, perhaps, a good) confine himself to *facts*, leaving the reader to draw inferences:

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the less he dabbles in the dirt of debaucheries the better. His business is to show his readers what has been done, and what are, or were, the effects of it : what were the measures of the reign of which he is the historian, and in what way, and to what extent, they produced happiness or misery, renown or dishonour.

5. So much for the *motive* of publishing this history at this time : and now, as to the *manner*. It is published in small Numbers, because that mode gives more time to the reader ; engages his attention better ; and presses on his purse by degrees. The paragraphs are *numbered* ; because by that means the matter is more easily referred to. And it is written in the **FIRST PERSON**, because I have been an actor in public matters, during the whole of the period to which the history will relate.

6. For the better understanding of the transactions of the regency and reign of George the Fourth, it will be necessary to prefix a sketch of

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that of the country for the whole period from the "REFORMATION" to the commencement of the regency of George the Fourth. It will be a *mere sketch*; but, it will be found to notice those prominent measures, the fruits of which the English nation has been destined to taste in these latter times.

WM. COBBETT.

Kensington, 30th August, 1830.

S K E T C H

OF THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

Protestant Reformation to the Regency of Geo. IV.

7. THAT change in the religion of England, which took place in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, and which is generally called the REFORMATION, has produced, in process of time, a still greater, and a most fatal, change in the nature of the English Government. Before ~~that~~ event, full one-third part, and indeed more, of the real property of the country belonged to the church; that is to say, it was held *in trust* by the clergy of different denominations, as bishops, priests, monks, nuns, &c., for the maintenance of religion, and for the relief of the poor and the stranger. These trustees were, therefore, in fact, the lords, or owners, of something approaching to one-half of the whole of the houses and lands of England.

8. From the very nature of the Catholic institutions this state of things gave the common people great advantages, and in various ways,

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especially as it prevented them from being *borne down by the aristocracy*. Where there is an aristocracy who are hereditary lawgivers, and are sustained by a law of primogeniture, the commons, if left without some power to protect them against such an aristocracy, must, in the nature of things, be, whatever they may call themselves, the slaves of that aristocracy. This protection, the commons, or people of England, found in the Catholic church, which not only had an interest always opposed to the encroachments of the aristocracy, but which was, from the very nature of its institutions, the cause of a distribution of property favourable to the commons. In the first place it took a tenth part of the whole of the produce of the earth, and out of it relieved the wants of the poor, the aged, the widow, and the orphan : next, the celibacy of the clergy, that is of the great mass of land-owners, necessarily took from them all motive for accumulating wealth, and caused them to distribute it, in some way or other, amongst the commons : next, the monastics, whose estates were immense, could possess no private property, and were, of course, easy landlords, let their lands at low rents, and on leases for lives, so that the renters were, in fact, pretty nearly the *proprietors* ; one and the same family of farmers held the same farm for ages ; and hence arose the term YEOMAN, which is retained in our law-writs, but which

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has now no application. The nobility were compelled to follow, in this respect, the example of the church; and thus the commons were the *joint-proprietors*, in fact, of the whole country; they acknowledged the owner as *lord* of the soil; but they held the estates for lives; they had rents or fines to pay, at stated times, but with this reservation, the estates were theirs; they could not, like rack-renters, be turned out at the pleasure of the owner; and, of course, they were independent, free, and bold, just the reverse of the rack-renters of the present day. Another great cause of public happiness, arising out of this distribution of property, was, that those great landlords, the clergy, always, from the very nature of the institutions, resided in the midst of their estates, and, of course, expended their revenues there, returning to those who laboured the fair share of the fruits of their labour; and, though the aristocracy had no such positive ties with regard to residence, example must have had, in this respect also, great effect upon them.

9. The Reformation broke up this state of society in England; and it has, at last, produced that state which we now behold; a state of rack-renters, of paupers, and of an aristocracy making the laws and burdening the commons, or people, at their pleasure. The Reformation took from the church, that is, in fact, from the people at large, of whom the clergy

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were the trustees, all their share of the property of the country. If the makers of this Reformation had *divided this property amongst the people* ; if they had sold it and applied the proceeds to the use of the nation at large, as was done by the makers of the *French Revolution of 1789*, there would have been no real injury done to the commons ; but this is what the makers of the Reformation did not do ; they did precisely the contrary ; and this too from a very obvious cause. The French Revolution was made *by the people* ; the English Reformation was made *by the aristocracy* against the wishes of the people. The French revolutionists divided the property amongst the people ; the English aristocracy took the property to themselves !

10. But this was not all that they did against the people. Having become the lords of the immense estates of the church, they, as was natural, began to put an end to that *joint-proprietorship* which had before existed, and, the lives dying off, they assumed the absolute possession : the race of *yeomen* was, little by little, swept away, and the occupants became rack-renters, wholly dependent on the will of the aristocracy. From even the parochial clergy the aristocracy had taken a great part of their revenue, while, at the same time, they allowed them to marry ; and thus were the poor left without relief, and the churches

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without revenues to keep them in repair. Yet it was absolutely necessary, that provision should be made for these objects ; for, in the reign of Elizabeth, so great and so general was become the misery of the people, and so manifestly was open rebellion approaching, that it was, after numerous efforts to avoid it, finally resolved on to make *by law* an effectual and permanent provision for the poor, and for the repair of the churches. And how did *reason* and *justice* say that this ought to be done ? By a tax, certainly, exclusively on the property taken from the church and given to the aristocracy. This is what ought to have been done ; and even this would have been but a poor compensation for all that the commons had lost ; but instead of this, a law was made *to tax all the people* for the relief of the poor and for the repairing of the churches ; and this tax, for England alone, now amounts to the enormous sum of seven millions and a half of pounds sterling in a year.

11. The STUARTS, who came to the throne immediately after the making of this law, besides being a feeble race of men, had not the protection which Elizabeth had found in the dread which the people had had of seeing the crown on the head of a Frenchman. The Stuarts, neither loved nor respected, had not the power to withstand the effects of the old grudge against the aristocracy, combined, as it

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new was, with the most furious fanaticism, hardly got quietly along through the reign of James I.; and, in that of Charles I., had to undergo all the sufferings of a revolution. The **REPUBLICANS**, amidst all their fury against the remains of the Catholic church, did not forget *its estates*; and, in spite of the arguments of the *Royalists*, proceeded very coolly, and, as all the world must say, very justly, *to take the estates back again for public use.*

12. The restoration of the **STUARTS**, which, like that of Louis XVIII., was produced partly by the tyranny of the man at the head of affairs and partly by treachery, restored these immense estates to the aristocracy; but did not restore to the **CROWN** the estate which the **Republicans** had taken from it; so that, while the aristocracy retained all their enormous increase of wealth and power, the king, like the poor, became a charge on the public revenue; and thus were king as well as people placed at the mercy of the aristocracy; a state in which they have remained from that day to this.

13. Next came the "**GLORIOUS REVOLUTION**" of 1688; and here the reader must have his senses at command to enable him to set the delusion of *names* at defiance. This revolution was *made by the aristocracy*, and for their *sole benefit*, and, like the Reformation, *against the wish of the people.* It was forced

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upon the nation by *an army brought from abroad*; it was made by laws, passed by those who had not been chosen by the people to make laws; and that the revolution was for the benefit of the aristocracy, what need we of more proof than is contained in the following facts, well known to all the world; that James II., who was a Catholic himself, wished to place Catholics upon a level with Protestants as to all civil rights; that the nation was then but at only about fifty years from the death of many who had witnessed the transfer of the church-estates to the aristocracy, only at about forty years from the time when those estates had been taken from the aristocracy by the republicans, and applied to public uses, and only at about *thirty years* from the time when the estates had been given back to the aristocracy again; that it was evident, that if the king could be a Catholic himself, and were permitted to place Catholics upon a level with Protestants, all men would say, that the Reformation was *unnecessary*, and that the estates had been taken from the Catholic church *unjustly*, from which conclusion there could be but one step to the *resumption of those estates by the nation*.

14. To these facts add the following; that the Prince of Orange was not invited to England by any meeting or assemblage of the people, nor by any person or body of persons

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chosen by the people for that purpose, or for the making of laws ; that he was invited to England by the aristocracy, and through agents sent to Holland by them ; that the Dutch army, brought over by William, marched to London with him and displaced the English soldiers stationed there ; that the general commanding the English army went over to William ; and that laws were immediately passed for *disarming suspected persons*, and for enabling the new government to *put into prison whomsoever it suspected of designs hostile to it*. Add these facts to the former, and then nothing further need be said with regard to the actors in, or the motives to, this "*Glorious Revolution*."

15. But, though, by these and similar means, and by a pretty free use of the gallows and the scaffold, the aristocracy secured the estates for this time, the thing was by no means *settled* thus. A war with France became necessary "*for the preservation of the Protestant religion*," that is to say, the quiet possession of the church-estates. To carry on this war, and to bind the monied people to the new government, it was necessary to *borrow money* ; and hence arose, the *funds*, the *bank*, and the *national debt*. These brought *taxes*, and so heavy as to create great discontents. The people felt themselves loaded with *ten or twelve millions* a year, instead of the *million and a half*, which they had had to pay in the reign of James II. ;

so that, soon after the accession of George I., the first king of the House of Brunswick, he had to encounter an open rebellion ; and the aristocracy, though they had so pared down the independence and power and influence of the people, found it necessary to pare it down still more ; and this they effected in the year 1715, by an act, called the *Riot act*, and by another called the *Septennial bill*.

16. By the first of those laws *all assemblages of the people out of doors* were, in effect, put down. And, why was this ? Certainly not because they were favourable to the government. But the *Septennial bill* can leave no doubt in the mind of any man. One of the charges against the STUARTS was, that they had not called new parliaments *frequently enough* ; and that, thus, they had deprived the people of the power of changing their representatives as often as might be necessary. The right of the people was to choose a new parliament *every year*. But, those who introduced William, did not restore this right ; but enacted, that, in future, there should be a new parliament *every three years*. However, in 1715, they found, that the people had still too much power ; and in this year, they, whom the people had chosen for three years, made a law to authorize themselves to sit for *four years longer* ! Aye, and that every future parliament should sit for *seven years* instead of three ; though the declaration

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against the STUARTS stated, that "*new parliaments ought to be frequently called,*" and that this was an unalienable right of the people of England.

17. But, audacious as this was in itself, it was less audacious than the pretexts set forth for the passing of the law. These were, that such *frequent* elections were attended with "grievous expenses"; that they caused "violent and lasting heats and animosities"; and that they might, at this time, favour the views of a "*restless and popish faction in causing the destruction of the peace and security of the government.*" Now, if this had been a *mere faction*, why take away the rights of *all the people*, in order to counteract its restlessness! Why, in order to keep down a mere faction, subvert the fundamental laws and usages of the country, and violate, in this daring manner, the solemn compact so recently entered into between the crown and the people!

18. It was, then, under the auspices of the *Riot act* and of the *Septennial act* that the House of Brunswick began its reign in England; and, though Mr. CANNING will not, by those who knew him, be deemed much of an authority upon the subject, he did say, in the House of Commons, in 1822, that, if the people of England could have had their will, the House of Brunswick would never have worn the Crown of this kingdom. The dislike of the people

was not, however, to the House of Brunswick, but to the exercise of the power of the aristocracy, who, by this last mentioned act, left hardly the semblance of power in the hands of the people. The members of that house have, in general, conducted themselves with great moderation; but, in its name, the aristocracy has gone on with its encroachments, which, however, seem at last to be destined to counteract themselves.

19. The "*glorious* revolution" brought wars; first for the keeping out of James and his family, and second for the preservation of *Holland* and of *Hanover*. These brought debts; and these brought taxes. The American colonies, now the United States, all of which, observe, had been settled by the Stuarts, began, in 1770, to present food for taxation. The parliament (the *Septennial* parliament) passed laws to tax them. The Americans had seen how their brethren in England had, by degrees, lost their property and their liberty. They raised the standard of "NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION;" the septennial parliament raised the standard of "UNCONDITIONAL SUBMISSION;" the battle began; and how it ended all the world knows.

20. It was impossible for these two standards to remain raised for seven years, as they did, without attracting the attention of the world, and particularly of the intelligent and brave

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people of France, especially as the latter had to take a part in the conflict. The success of the Americans, in conjunction with the armies of France, beckoned to the people of France to follow the bright example. As it was absolutely impossible for Lafayette not to imbibe the principles of Washington, so it was impossible that the French should not imbibe the principles of the Americans. And, now it was that our aristocracy began to see the effects of their septennial system recoil upon themselves. The French people, who, as FORTESCUE clearly shows, had never derived from the Catholic church the benefits which the English had derived from it; the French people, always borne down by a great standing army, while England had none; the French people, pressed to the earth by taxes, partial as well as cruelly heavy, such as England had, at that time, never heard of; the French people, insulted in their wretchedness by a haughty, a squandering, and most profligate court, and higher clergy; this oppressed and brave people resolved, in 1789, no longer to endure the degrading curse, and, at one single effort, swept away their grinding and insolent aristocracy and clergy, and, in their rage, the throne itself; and, by that act, sent dread into the heart of every aristocrat upon the face of the earth.

21. Our septennial law-makers remained, however, spectators for about two years and a

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half ; but, in the meanwhile, the example was working here. The Septennial bill had produced all its natural consequences, wars, debts, and taxation ; and, as the cause of the evils was seen, the people had begun, even during the American war, to demand a REFORM IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT as the only cure for existing evils, and as the only security against their recurrence for the future. When the standard of the right of representation had been raised by thirty millions of people only twenty miles from them, those of England could not be expected to be dead to the call. They were not ; and it required no long time to convince our aristocracy that one of two things must take place ; namely, that the French people must be compelled to return under their ancient yoke ; or, that a change must take place in England, restoring to the people *the right of freely choosing their representatives* ; the consequences of which, to this aristocracy, were too obvious to need pointing out, even to parties not deeply interested in those consequences. The obstacles to war were very great. There was the DEBT, which, by the unsuccessful American war, had been made to amount to a sum, the annual interest of which demanded *six times* the amount of the taxes which had existed in the reign of James II. There were, besides, heavy burdens entailed upon the country by that war on account of half-pay and of other

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things. On the other hand, we had a most advantageous commercial treaty with France, which the Republicans in France were ready to continue in force. The interests of the *people* of England manifestly pointed to peace ; their wishes, too, were in favour of peace ; and this latter is *proved* by their conduct, and still more clearly by the PROCLAMATIONS for checking French principles ; by the ARISTOCRATICAL ASSOCIATIONS formed for that purpose ; and by the TERRIBLE LAWS passed for the purpose of cutting off all communication between the people of the two countries.

22. But the alternative was, *Parliamentary Reform*, or *put down the Republic of France*. That really was the alternative, and the only one. The former ought to have been chosen ; but the latter was resolved on, and that, too, in spite of the acknowledged risk of failure ; for, so much did the aristocracy dread the other alternative, that failure, when compared with that, lost all its terrors. To war then they went ; in war they continued for twenty-two years, except the short respite procured by the peace of Amiens, which was, in fact, a truce rather than a peace. At the end of twenty-two years, Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of France ; but of that event, and its causes and consequences, the details will come into the history to which this sketch is an introduction.

23. During the fight every thing but the dread

of the effect of the example of the French appears to have been overlooked by our aristocracy ; and, of course, they thought nothing of the DEBT which they were contracting, though that was, as the sequel will show, destined to undo all that they were doing against the French, and to render that parliamentary reform, which it had been their great object to root out of the minds of the people, more necessary and more loudly called for than ever. They had advanced only about six years in the war when they found themselves compelled to resort to a *paper-money*, and to make it a *legal tender*. This was a very important crisis in the affairs of the septennial parliament and of the aristocracy, and the consequences which have resulted, and will result from it, are to be ranked amongst those which decide the fate of governments. Therefore this matter calls for full explanation.

24. At the time when this war began, 1793, WILLIAM PITT, a son of the late Earl of Chatham, was the Prime Minister. He had established what he called a SINKING FUND, and had adopted other measures for reducing the amount of the DEBT, which had now reached the fearful amount of *two hundred millions* and upwards. A new war was wholly incompatible with Pitt's schemes of reduction ; and he, of course, would be, and he *really was*, *opposed to the war of 1793*, though he carried it on (with the excep-

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tion of the truce before-mentioned) until the day of his death, which took place in 1806. And here we behold the direct, open, avowed, and all-ruling power of the aristocracy! This body had, for many years, been divided into two "parties," as they called them, bearing the two nick-names of **TORIES** and **WHIGS**, the etymology of which is of no consequence. The **TORIES** affected very great attachment to the *throne and the church*; the **WHIGS** affected perfect *loyalty*, indeed, but surprising devotion to the *rights of the people*, though it was *they* who had brought in the Dutch king and his army, and who had made the Riot act and the Septennial bill; so that, if they were the friends of the people, what must their enemies have been! The truth is, there was no difference, as far as regarded the people, between these two actions; their real quarrels were solely about *the division of the spoil*; for whenever any contest arose between the *aristocracy* and the *people*, the two factions had always united in favour of the former; and thus it was in regard to that all-important question, the war against Republican France.

25. **PITT**, who was the son of a Whig-Pensioner, and had begun his career, not only as a Whig, but as a Parliamentary reformer, was now at the head of the Tories; and **CHARLES FOX**, who had not only been bred a Tory and begun his career as a Tory, but who had, and who held

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to the day of his death, *two sinecure offices*, was at the head of the Whigs. These were the two men of the whole collection who could talk loudest, longest, and most fluently, and who were, therefore, picked out by their respective parties to lead in carrying those "DEBATES," as they are called, which have been one of the great means of amusing and deluding and enslaving this nation. Every effort was made by the respective parties to exalt their champions in the public estimation: they were represented as the two most wonderful men that the world had ever seen: as orators, Pitt was compared to CICERO, and Fox to DEMOSTHENES: Pitt, as a lawgiver, surpassed LYCURGUS; Fox more nearly resembled SOLON! The people, always credulous and vain enough as to such matters, carried away by the jugglery, ranged themselves under one or the other of these paragons and took their respective names as marks of honourable distinction; and thus, for thirty long years, were the industrious and sincere and public-spirited people of this country divided into PITTITES and FOXITES; thus were they for those thirty years the sport of the aristocracy who employed these political impostors, while every year of the thirty saw an addition to their burdens and a diminution of their liberties.

26. In this state stood the factions, when, in 1793, came the question of *war* against the

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Republic of France. Pitt, for the reasons before stated, *was decidedly opposed to war*. The portion of the aristocracy that supported him were *for war* ; but, they were for their leader too, because, if he quitted his post, Fox came in with the tribe of Whigs at his heels. Besides, a *vast majority of the people*, whether Pittites or Foxites, were against the war. So that Pitt had reason to fear, that, with a war on his shoulders, he would be unable to retain his power. But the Foxite portion of the aristocracy, seeing the *common danger*, and seeing the grounds of Pitt's opposition to war, *went over and joined the Pittite party* ; leaving Fox with a small party about him, to carry on that "*constitutional opposition*" which was necessary to amuse and deceive the people.

27. Thus supported by the two bodies of the aristocracy united, Pitt went into this memorable war, which, though attended with numerous important consequences, was attended with none equal, in point of ultimate effect, to the measures by which *paper-money was made a legal tender in 1797*. The aristocracy, in resorting to this expedient, were not at all aware, that, though it gave them strength for the time, it must, in the end, bereave them of all strength ; that it must take from them the means of future wars, or compel them to blow up that system of debts and funds, which had been invented by them as a

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rock of safety, and without the existence of which the whole fabric of their power must go to pieces.

28. In the meanwhile, however, on they went with the war, and with the struggle between them and the people on the score of *Parliamentary Reform*: the people ascribing the war and all its enormous debts and taxes to the want of that reform, and the aristocracy ascribing their complaints to seditious and treasonable designs, and passing laws to silence them, or punish them accordingly. When this war began (1793) the Septennial Bill had been in existence *seventy-nine years*, and that it had produced its natural fruits is clearly proved by the following undeniable facts; namely, that, at the time of the "*Glorious Revolution*," in 1688, one of the charges against King James was, "that he had *violated the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament*"; that, one of the standing laws of parliament is, "that it is a *high crime and misdemeanor in any peer to interfere in the election of members to serve in the House of Commons*"; that, in 1793, Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, presented a petition to the House of Commons, signed by himself and others, stating, "that a *decided majority of that House was returned by one hundred and fifty-four men, partly peers, and partly great commoners*, and by the ministry of the day;"

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that he offered to prove the allegation by witnesses at the bar of the House, and that he was not permitted to bring his witnesses to the bar ; that there was an appendix to this petition, containing a list of the *names* of all the *peers* and *great commoners*, who thus returned the members, exhibiting the number of members returned by each, and that this list is recorded in the Annual Register for the year 1793 ; that, in 1779, the House of Commons had resolved, that *an attempt to traffic in seats in that House was "highly criminal in a minister of the king; that it was an attack on the dignity and honour of the House, an infringement on the rights and liberties of the people, and an attempt to sap the basis of our free and happy constitution"* ; that, on the 25th April, 1809, LORD CASTLEREAGH, then a minister of the king, having been proved to have thus trafficked, the House resolved, "that it was its bounden duty to maintain, at all times, a *jealous guard on its purity*, the attempt, in the present instance, *not having been carried into effect*, the House did not think it necessary to proceed to any criminating resolutions" ; that, alas ! in only sixteen days after this, Mr. MADOCKS, member for Boston, accused this same Castlereagh, together with two other ministers of the king, not only with trafficking in a seat, but of having completed the bargain, *and carried it into full effect* ; that,

SKETCH.

having made this charge, Mr. Madocks moved, that the House should inquire into the matter ; that the House then debated upon this motion ; that there were *three hundred and ninety-five* members present ; and that (hear it, every honest man on earth !) *three hundred and ten* voted against all inquiry, and that, too, as the speakers in the debate openly declared, “ *be-
cause this traffic was as notorious as the sun
at noon day* ” !

29. Such was the state of things in the year 1809. The next year Geo. III. became, from insanity, incapable of performing the office of king ; then, therefore, began the Regency of his eldest son and heir apparent, and it is of this ten years' regency, and of the ten years' reign that followed it, that the following is the history.

HISTORY

OF THE

REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEORGE IV.

CHAPTER I.

From the Birth of the King to his Marriage.

30. THIS king, who was born on the 12th of August, in the year 1762, was the eldest son of King George III., and of Charlotte, Princess of Meeklenburgh Strelitz. Matters relating to his childhood and his boyish days are as uninteresting to the world as are the matters relating to a blackbird, or linnet, from the time of its being hatched to that of its flying from the paternal nest. Matters relating to his amours, and other sensual indulgences, at a more advanced period, could, even if we could come at an accurate de-

tail of them, only serve as entertainment to the idle, encouragement to the profligate, and to fill the sensible and sober with disgust. To be sure, as a cause of *great expense* to the nation, he was always, from his very birth, an object of interest ; but, unless we knew, or had heard of, something in his juvenile conduct to hold up as an example to our children, which, as far as my knowledge and hearing have gone, is not the case here, it is best to pass over this comparatively insignificant part of his life, come at once to the period when he came openly in contact with the nation's purse, and, turning a deaf ear to both sycophants and satirists, relate truly what he did, or what was done in his name, leaving the world to judge of his *character* by his *actions*.

31. For these reasons I shall pass over all the previous part of this king's life, and come at once to the time when he entered into that *marriage* which led to consequences which have engaged the attention, as well as excited some degree of feeling, in every part of the civilized world. The brave and unfortunate CAROLINE, who was the victim of this matrimonial contract, and of whose persecutions, sufferings, death, and burial, the historian's duty will be to give, in the proper place, a full and faithful account, was the second daughter of Charles William, Duke of Brunswick, and was, at the time of her marriage, twenty-six years of age. The Prince of Wales (since

George IV.), her husband, who had then attained the age of thirty-three years, was *greatly embarrassed with debts*, which, until this *marriage was proposed*, the nation was by no means *disposed to pay*. The country was at this time involved in a most expensive and wasteful war against the people of France : a war undertaken to put down principles, and, in the opinions of all considerate men, tending to produce, eventually, great suffering to the English nation ; and, therefore, the people were not in a very good humour with royalty.

32. The discussions relative to the American revolution had produced a revolution in France ; and it had been found, that, in like manner, this latter event would produce a revolution in England. Various are the *words* made use of by the parties in the disputes touching these revolutions ; but the short and true state of the case is this : the *people* of all these nations were become sensible that they suffered from the whole of the governing powers being in the hands of the *privileged orders*. The Americans had successfully resisted the attempts to keep them under the yoke. The French had risen and broken the yoke to pieces. And now the English were making an attempt to regain *their right of choosing their representatives*.

33. In the midst of a general ferment, arising from this cause, war against the French people was commenced by PITT, in 1793, which war

was going on at the time of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Brunswick. The taxes, on account of the war, pressed heavily upon the nation; the government armed itself at all points. Soldiers of all descriptions; barracks; new laws relative to the press; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; every thing, in short, to restrain and compel; but still *money* was necessary; and, under such circumstances, an enormous sum, granted to pay the *debts* of a prince who had always received a large annual stipend out of the taxes, was what even PITT, daring as he was, had not the confidence to propose without being furnished with some plausible pretence for the proposition. The marriage, as we shall by-and-by see, *furnished this pretence*; and every thing that could be thought of was done to make the people part with the money freely.

34. The marriage took place on the 8th of April; and though it was, of course, to be considered as a measure of state-policy, it certainly gave great and universal satisfaction. The Prince, notwithstanding his extravagance, was, at this time, by no means *unpopular*. He had been studiously shut out from all public authority, was regarded as in *opposition* to his father's ministers, and, as those were very cordially and justly hated, the Prince, except with regard to his expenses, stood in rather a favourable light. The Princess, who was of a most frank and kind disposition,

extremely affable and gracious in her deportment; by no means suffered in a comparison with the *Queen*; and, upon the whole, the nation seemed delighted with the prospect that their future king and queen held out to them.

35. In a few days after the celebration of the marriage; that is to say, on the 27th of April, the king officially communicated to the parliament his request, that a *settlement* should be made on the Prince, suitable to the alteration in his situation; and he observed, at the same time, that “the benefit of any settlement that the
“ House might make must fail in *its most desirable effect*, if means were not provided to *extricate his Royal Highness from the encumbrances under which he laboured to a great amount.*”

36. Upon this message from the king, PRRR founded his proposition to the House. Those members who composed what was called *the opposition*, or *Whigs*, or, at least, the most active of them, such as Fox, Sheridan, the Duke of Bedford and others, were also personal friends of the Prince. They, therefore, were ready to concur with the minister in this particular case. But, there were men, on both sides of the House, to oppose any grant of money with a view of paying the *debts* of the Prince. Amongst these was Mr. GREY, now Earl GREY, who actually made a motion to take 20,000*l.* a year from the sum pro-

posed by the minister. This motion was lost ; but 99 members voted for it ; and the speech of Mr. GREY was well calculated to produce upon the country an impression very little favourable to the Prince, who had had *his debts paid by parliament once before*, and who was now pretty loudly reminded of that fact by some members sitting on both sides of the House.

37. This former payment of the Prince's debts took place in 1787. The amount was, at that time, very large ; and, certainly, with a clear annual allowance of *sixty thousand pounds*, money enough to maintain 3,000 labourers' families, the nation had a right to complain, when a new clearing off of debts was called for. Nevertheless the new debt, which had arisen, the reader will perceive, in the space of little more than seven years, amounted to the enormous sum of 639,890*l.* sterling ; that is to say, to 80,000*l.* for every year since the last clearing off of his debts ; and, as will be perceived, to 20,000*l.* a year *more* than *the whole* of his annual allowance. Thus he had been spending at the rate of 140,000*l.*, a year instead of 60,000*l.*, and had been living on what would have maintained 7,000 labourers' families !

38. The minister, who liked well enough to make this exhibition of the Prince, proposed, as the amount of his new settlement, 125,000*l.* a year, besides the rents of the Duchy of Cornwall,

valued at 13,000*l.* a year more. But out of this 138,000*l.* a year, 73,000*l.* was to go *towards the payment of his debts*, and was to be placed, for that purpose, in the hands of *commissioners* ! Thus leaving him 65,000*l.* a year to live on, a sum not equal to *half* of that which he had annually expended for seven years before. At the same time an act of parliament was passed "to prevent *future princes of Wales* from contracting *debts*," an act which seemed wholly unnecessary, except for the purpose of conveying, in an indirect way, the *censure* of the parliament on the conduct of the prince. As to "future princes of Wales," this was, however, an act of flagrant injustice. It was an act to keep them, by law, in a state *below* that of what the law calls a *femme covert*, and, indeed, to keep them in a state of *infancy* ; a state little compatible with the *sacredness* of the person of the party. But, as we shall all along perceive, it has been the constant policy of the aristocracy to prevent the kingly part of the government from being overburdened with popularity or respect.

39. The minister was most vehemently censured for this by the personal friends of the prince, who declared it to be an insult *intended* and *contrived* ; and this it certainly was. Yet it was not easy to blame Pitt and his party for their conduct upon this occasion ; for how was a minister, after the large sum paid for a similar

purpose, in 1787, again to call upon the nation for an immense sum to pay off the prince's debts, without doing something that should amount to a *censure* on him by whom those debts had been contracted? The transactions of 1787 had left the prince no justification and no excuse for this new mass of debts. At that time he had had, from the time of his coming of age in 1783, an allowance from the king, out of the civil list, of 50,000*l.* a year; an allowance enormous, especially if we consider the then low price of all household expenses. Nevertheless, it required but *four years* to involve the prince in debts; a circumstance that reflected less credit on him than the friends of kingly government could have wished to see belong to so distinguished a branch of the royal family; a circumstance, in fact, which was, in itself, no weak argument in favour of the French, who were contending for a *Republican* government.

40. It was not, therefore, without some severe animadversions on his conduct, that the House of Commons entertained a proposition to pay off the debts of 1787; and they did not pass the grant, until the king had given them the strongest assurances, that a similar application, for a similar purpose, would *never again be made*. In his message of the 21st of May, 1787, the king, after expressing his *great concern* at being under the necessity of acquainting the House of the

extent of the prince's debts, and after observing how *painful* it was to him to propose, on this account, an addition to *the burdens of his people*, proceeds thus : " His Majesty could not, however, " expect or desire the assistance of this House, " but on a *well-grounded expectation that the* " *prince will avoid contracting any debts in fu-* " *ture.* With a view to this object, and not from " any anxious desire to remove any possible doubt " of the sufficiency of the prince's income to sup- " port amply the dignity of his situation, his " majesty has directed a sum of 10,000*l.* per an- " num to be paid out of his civil list, in addition " to the allowance which his majesty has hither- " to given him ; and his majesty has *the satis-* " *faction* to inform the House, that the Prince of " Wales has given his Majesty the *fullest assu-* " *rance of his determination to confine his future* " *expenses within his income*, and has also settled " a plan for arranging those expenses in the " several departments, and for fixing an order for " payment, under such regulations as his majesty " trusts will *effectually secure the due execution* " *of the prince's intentions.*"

41. Upon this message the minister proposed, and the parliament voted, the sum of 161,109*l.* to pay off the debts ; a sum perfectly monstrous, if we consider the prices of things at the time, and if we also consider that it must have been contracted within the short space of about *three*

years and a half. The nation, however, always foolishly liberal, seems to have been willing to overlook the past, in consequence of the *solemn assurances* of the prince, conveyed to it under the hand of the king himself, that this should be *the last application of the kind.*

42. When, therefore, another application of precisely the same kind was to be made, how could any minister advise the king to make it, without accompanying that application with a proposal to do something in the way of *security* for the future, and of *censure* for the past! Accordingly the king recommended and the parliament adopted, in 1795, the appointment of *commissioners* to superintend the payment of the debts, and the passing of the *act* before-mentioned.

43. It is easy to conceive how disagreeable it must have been to the prince to have every debt, and the *nature* of every debt, canvassed before commissioners! And how very different this was from placing, at once, the 639,890*l.* at his *own disposal.* There was a commission to sit for at least *nine years*, as they were to pay only 73,000*l.* a year. All this time there must necessarily be a great many discontented creditors, who are by no means the most patient or most friendly of mortals. The prince was *a debtor all the while*; and while the nation thought, and truly thought, his allowance very large, he found that what he was receiving was much

too small for those purposes. which he deemed his wants.

44. Thus his marriage, instead of affording the prince that *relief from embarrassment*, which his friends said he had been led to expect from it, was, to him, a season of the *deepest humiliation*. Those friends were very loud in their reproaches against the minister; and the prince's brother, the Duke of CLARENCE (now WILLIAM IV.) said, in his place in the House of Lords, that, "when the marriage of the prince was *agreed upon*, there was a stipulation that he was to be *exonerated from his debts*."

45. The marriage had failed, therefore, of accomplishing one of its apparent objects. In such cases personal affection is never much to be relied on. The thing is altogether an affair of state-policy; and, under circumstances such as have here been stated, it is but too natural to suppose that the other party in the marriage would derive no advantage from the disappointment of the above-mentioned pecuniary hopes. There were, indeed, added to the annual sum, 27,000*l.* for expenses of the marriage; 28,000*l.* for jewels and plate; and 26,000*l.* to finish the prince's palace of Carlton House: but there was a *control* as to the *expenditure* of those sums, which were by no means to be spent by the prince. So that, in fact, his pecuniary circumstances, his capacity of spending money, became lowered, and

greatly lowered, by his marriage, which of necessity augmented his household expenses.

46. It is very true, that 65,000*l.* a year, clear of all taxes, undeducted from by house-rent, furniture, repairs, and many other of those outgoings which so largely deduct from other men's incomes, was a sum so large, that one can hardly imagine how it was to be disposed of without an absolute throwing of it away. But having seen, that, during the seven years previous to the marriage, the prince had expended 140,000*l.* a year, we are not to be surprised, that he experienced deep mortification at being reduced to less than half the sum ; and, especially when he saw his stipend placed in the hands of *commissioners*, responsible to the law for the distribution of the money.

47. This mortification was strongly expressed by his friends in parliament ; and, certainly, anything more mortifying, more humiliating, cannot well be imagined than the provisions of the act relating to the application of the new settlement of 140,000*l.* a year. The commissioners were to be, the speaker of the House of Commons ; the chancellor of the Exchequer ; the master of the King's household ; the accountant-general of the court of Chancery ; and the surveyor-general of the crown-lands. They were to have complete power to examine all creditors *on oath* ; to inquire into the *origin* and *nature* of every

debt; to watch over the *future expenditure*; and, in short, to be absolute, as to all the pecuniary affairs of the prince, who was placed under a guardianship and control as severe as if he had still been an infant, or something even lower in the scale of intellectual capacity.

48. FRANCIS, DUKE OF BEDFORD, in advertising to these measures in his place in parliament, vehemently censured the ministers. He said, that "a variety of circumstances would occur to candid minds in extenuation of the errors of the prince, which were of a *juvenile* description, and did by no means call for asperity of censure." The EARL OF LAUDERDALE said, that "it did not become so great and opulent a people to act with severity towards a *young* prince, from whose *virtues, abilities, and accomplishments*, they might justly expect to derive so much *contentment*."

49. The nation, however, does not appear to have thought that *thirty-three years of age* was a very "*juvenile*" stage of life. If it were such, however, in this particular case, the nation could see no objection to a guardianship and control, such as are usual in the "*juvenile*" state. And as to those *virtues and abilities* of which the Earl of Lauderdale spoke, though no one was presumptuous enough to deny, or to express a doubt as to their existence; no one, on the other hand, appeared to be able to deduce a proof of them,

from what had happened in 1787, or from the present exhibition of debts which had been contracted notwithstanding the solemn assurances given at the former period.

50. Harsh, severe, humiliating, as the measures of PITT certainly were, they met with the approbation of the nation at large, who, whatever they might think of the prince himself, had a very bad opinion of some, at least, of those who were regarded as being in his confidence and in his favour. Besides, the nation looked attentively at the *causes* of the debts. They looked at the list of *claimants* and of *claims*. They looked at the *items*; and in them they did not discover anything which seemed to form a compensation, either in possession or in hope, for the immense sums which the prince's indulgences had drained from the fruit of their labour. Indeed, the *princess* seems to have been, in regard to this point, their only source of consolation. Concluding, from the experience of mankind, that matrimony would put an end to those things which had been so costly to them, and had so long filled them with alarm, they looked upon the princess as giving them much better security than they could have in commissionerships and acts of parliament.

51. The marriage had brought the prince a *wife*, but it had brought him none of those other things which his friends and partisans, at least,

said he expected from it ; and it had brought him worse than no fortune at all ; for it had, in fact, taken from him, as to the management of his pecuniary concerns, all sort of power, and even of influence. The reader will judge for himself, whether these immediate consequences of the marriage (so different from those that had been anticipated) were likely to operate in the mind of the husband favourably towards the wife. Precisely how they did operate we cannot pretend to know ; but certain it is, that domestic happiness was *not long* an inmate at Carlton House.

52. The mortification of the prince seemed to admit of little addition : it seemed to be complete ; but it did receive an addition in the conduct of the parliament towards the princess, on whom, by an act passed on the same day with that which established a *commission* to manage the affairs of the prince, they settled a jointure of 50,000*l.* a year, *leaving the expenditure entirely under her own control !* Thereby making *by law* a contrast between the husband and wife, to the disgrace of the former. Never did the prince to the hour of his death forget this ! Mr. GREY, who was in fact the beginner of the attack upon him, he never forgave ; and this is the real cause of his unconquerable aversion to every arrangement that included the putting of Lord Grey into power. Certainly, the treatment of the prince, in this case, was, in itself considered, most in-

sulting ; but before we say that a man is insulted, we must consider *what the man is* ; and not merely what his rank is, but what his *character* is, and what his *conduct has been* ; and if we thus consider in this case, we cannot say that there could be an insult inflicted ; for what, alas ! was that character, and what had been that conduct ?

CHAPTER II.

*From the Marriage of the King, in April 1795,
to the commencement of his Regency, in July
1811.*

53. It was not in reason nor in nature to expect that a marriage, a marriage of mere state-policy, and attended by circumstances so mortifying to the husband as those detailed in the foregoing chapter, should be *happy*, especially when that husband had at his nod scores of women, equal in point of accomplishments and far surpassing in personal charms, the lady with whom it was his lot to be united; that such a marriage should be *happy* was not to be expected; but, it might have led to a life free from scandal, free from disgrace, free from cruelty to the disliked party, and free from measures throwing enormous burdens on the people; it might have been free from all these; it might not have been made the cause of taking from the labour of the people a million of pounds, or thereabouts, in measures to bring

disgrace and infamy on this unfortunate lady; and it might not have been the cause of keeping millions of Catholics out of the enjoyment of their rights for, at least, twenty-four years, and thereby producing troubles, commotions, and bloodshed without end: it might have been free from all these consequences, and, as the sequel will most amply prove, *it was productive of them all.*

54. When we behold such mighty and fatal effects, arising, as we shall see these did, from the mortification, the caprice, or the antipathy, from the mere selfish passions, and, almost, from the animal feelings and propensities, of *one single man*; when we see a whole community thus afflicted, and its peace and even greatness endangered by such a cause, must we not be senseless indeed, must we not be something approaching to brutes, if we do not seek for some means of protecting ourselves against the like in future? This king has, by his parasites (and enough of them he always had), been called the “first gentleman in his kingdom.” Gentleman is a very equivocal term; but, if its meaning be to be interpreted by the *conduct* of GEORGE IV., it will hardly be greatly coveted by the majority of mankind. He had, in this case, two duties to fulfil, both of a sacred nature; one towards his wife; and another towards that virtuous, industrious, forgiving, and too generous people,

from whose care and toil he had, for thirty-three years, derived the means of living in ease, splendour, and even extravagance.

55. With regard to the first of these duties, though the law restrained him in the choosing of a wife, this restraint was a *condition* upon which he was to enjoy royal magnificence and power; and, though it restrained him in his choice, it did not *compel* him to marry anybody. A good and dutiful son, even in the lowest walks of life, will hesitate long before he marry *against the wish* of his father and family. So that there is no excuse to be built on this ground. He was perfectly free to refuse the hand of the lady that had been chosen for him; to take that hand was his own voluntary act; therefore, he was bound by every tie that ought to bind a *husband*; and, though personal affection was wanting, were there not the dictates of *justice*? Was there not his solemn vow; did he not promise before God, that he would love and cherish and keep constant to this lady? Was there not, supposing a want of every-thing else, *common humanity* to tell him, that it was cruel to the last degree even to slight a person situated as the princess was, in a foreign country, cut off from home, parents, and friends, surrounded with envious rivals and satirists, and placed solely under his protection and at his mercy? Amongst the honest boasts of England,

is, that it possesses "manly hearts to *guard the fair*." As far as belonged to *the people* of England, the unfortunate CAROLINE experienced the literal truth of this poetic description; but, we shall presently see how it was exemplified in the conduct of him who was one day to be their king, and the *mildness* of whose reign and *generosity* of whose character have been extolled by those who were amongst his intimates and counsellors.

56. As to his duty towards *the nation*, it bound him, in the first place, to refrain from any indulgence, from giving way to any passion, from doing any-thing which, operating in the way of example, might be injurious to public morals. We are all aware of the powers of *fashion*; we know that in dress, in eating, in drinking, in sports and pastimes of all sorts, the high are followed as nearly as possible by the low. As the servant-maid imitates as nearly as possible the dress of her mistress and the footman the airs of his master, so will a people imitate, in a greater or less degree, the example of their rulers. If snuff became sought after because it was by a shrewd tobacconist named "*Prince's mixture*," is it to be believed that ill-treatment of a wife at Carlton House would not have its pernicious influence on every man at all prone to disregard the marriage vow? Besides, for what had the nation given to this prince such enormous sums of money?

For what had it a second time discharged the long score of his squanderings? For the purpose of seeing him lead a life of sobriety, order, and conjugal fidelity; for the purpose of seeing a family of children about him; for the purpose of seeing him not only not a bad example to married men, but to set a good example; and finally to render all dispute about succession to the throne next to impossible, and to prevent that which Englishmen have always hated, that succession calling in foreigners to reign. These were the purposes for which the nation had made such great pecuniary sacrifices; and he by his conduct to his wife defeated them all; and by that conduct, and that conduct alone, *laid the foundation* of all those discontents, troubles, commotions, and all that waste of money and that spilling of blood, to which I have alluded in the first paragraph of this present chapter; and of this fact no man, when he is fully informed of all the circumstances, can possibly doubt.

57. The marriage, as we have seen, took place on the 8th of April, 1795. On the 7th January, 1796, two days only short of nine months, the princess was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized by the name of CHARLOTTE, and of whose premature death I shall in due time and place have to speak. During these nine months even, the princess has since complained, not only of neglect the most mortifying, but of indignities

the most gross and insupportable. She was a woman of too high a spirit to endure this treatment unresented. Cruelty and cowardice always go together; or the former, at least, is never unaccompanied by the latter. Men are cruel, in many cases, only *because* they are cowardly. The courageous robber even spares the life of his victim; the cowardly one kills him, lest he should bring him to justice. The princess did not bear her ill-treatment with tameness; she made her husband feel that she was not to be insulted with impunity; but this, of course, only added to his antipathy; which at the end of only one year and five or six days from the day of the marriage, led to a message from him to her proposing a *separation* from bed and board. It was a *lord* who had the *high honour* to deliver this message; it was a *peer*, an hereditary law-giver, who was charged with this noble mission, and who actually had the manliness to deliver the delicate message to the wife and mother from his own lips.

58. The princess, however, very prudently requested to have her husband's wishes stated *in writing*; but she at once told the bearer of the message, that though, she must, of course, submit to the arrangement that the prince might resolve on, she desired it might be clearly understood that any such arrangement, *if once made* should be *final*, and that under no circumstances he

should retain the right *to alter it*. This answer produced the *written proposal*, which must be preserved here in the prince's own words. Shameful words to be by *any man* addressed to *any woman*. What must they be then when addressed by a *husband* to a *wife*, and to a wife, too, with an only child in her arms, and that child only three months old! The *man* overcomes the *historian* here, and makes him, for the honour of his sex and country, recoil at the thought of putting the words upon record. But not only is this demanded by truth and justice; it is necessary to a clear understanding of the most important transactions of the regency and the reign of this king.

Windsor Castle, April 30, 1796.

MADAM,

As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head with as much clearness and with as much propriety as the nature of the subject will admit. *Our inclinations are not in our power*, nor should *either of us be held answerable to the other*, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required through Lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of *any accident happening to my daughter*, which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction, by proposing at any period a *connexion of a more particular nature*. I shall now finally close this disagreeable

correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in *uninterrupted tranquillity*.

I am, Madam,

With great truth,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed)

GEORGE P.

59. It is unnecessary to remark on the rudeness and grossness of this letter ; they are too obvious not to fill every one with disgust ; but, taking subsequent events into view, it is curious that the writer, even at so early a period, should have *anticipated the possibility of some accident happening to the infant daughter* ! His pious reliance on the *mercy of Providence* to spare the life of his child, while he was casting off the mother to whose breast that child was clinging, does, perhaps, surpass any-thing of the kind ever heard of before. To this letter the princess sent an answer in French, on the sixth of May, in the following words :

L'AVEU de votre conversation avec Lord Cholmondeley, ne m'étonne, ni ne m'offense. C'étoit me confirmer *ce que vous m'avez tacitement insinué depuis une année*. Mais il y auroit après cela, un manque de délicatesse ou, pour mieux dire, une bassesse indigne de me plaindre des conditions, que vous imposez à vous même.

Je ne vous aurois point fait de reponse, si votre lettre n'étoit conçue de maniere à faire douter, si cet arrangement *vient de vous*, ou de moi ; et vous sçavez que vous m'annoncez l'honneur. La lettre que vous m'annoncez comme

la dernière, m'oblige de communiquer au Roy, comme à mon Souverain et à mon Pere, votre aveu et ma réponse. Vous trouverez ci incluse la copie de celle que j'écris au Roy. Je vous en prévient pour ne pas m'attirer de votre part la moindre reproche de duplicité. Comme je n'ai, dans ce moment, d'autre protecteur que Sa Majesté, je m'en rapporte uniquement à lui. Et si ma conduite mérite son approbation, je serai, du moins en partie, consolée.

Du reste, je conserve toute la reconnaissance possible de ce que je me trouve par votre moyen, comme Princesse de Galles, dans une situation à pouvoir me livrer sans contrainte, à une vertu chère à mon cœur, je veux dire la bienfaisance. Ce sera pour moi un devoir d'agir de plus par un autre motif, savoir celui de donner l'exemple de la patience, et de la résignation dans toutes sortes d'épreuves. Rendez moi la justice de me croire, que je ne cesserai jamais de faire des vœux pour votre bonheur, et d'être votre bien dévouée

(Signed)

CAROLINE.

Ce 6 de May, 1796.

TRANSLATION.

The avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirmed *what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth*. But after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.

I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful, whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me, and you are aware that *the credit of it belongs to you alone*.

The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the King, as to my Sovereign and my Father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the King. I apprise you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment *no protector but His*

Majesty, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject, and if my conduct meets his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as Princess of Wales, enabled by your means, to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart, I mean charity.

It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.

Do me the justice to believe that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be,

Your much devoted

CAROLINE.

6th of May, 1796.

60. In these documents we have the real foundation of not only all the inquietudes, the scandal, the shame, the mortification, and the just reproach, which this king had to endure for the rest of his life, and the *laughing holiday*, in and about London, on the very day of *his funeral*; not only of these, for these would, comparatively, be an insignificant matter; but the foundation also of mischievous appointments and measures innumerable; the foundation, and the sole foundation of the long-continued and disastrous power of Perceval, Eldon, Liverpool, Sidmouth, Castle-reagh, and Canning; the cause, in short, of the waste of hundreds of millions of money, the cause of national disgrace in war, the cause of laws, the stain of which will never be effaced, and, finally, the *real root* of that mass of suffering on the part of the people of this once happy nation,

which suffering, arrived at the utmost verge of endurance, now threatens the very existence of the state, now causes to totter to its base that famous fabric of government, which, for so many ages, was the pride of Englishmen, and the admiration of the world.

61. This is ascribing great effects to an apparently inadequate cause ; but the sequel will prove the truth of what is here asserted. The "Wrath of Achilles," sung by Homer and Pope, was not to Greece a more "direful spring of woes" than the conduct of this royal husband was to England. And what was his apology for that conduct? "Our *inclinations* are not in our power, nor should *either of us be answerable* to the other, because *nature* has not made us *suitable* to each other." Shameful words ! Was this the language of the "first gentleman in England?" And was it for this that this generous nation had loaded him with luxuries out of the fruit of its cares and toils ! Was it for this that his enormous debts had been twice discharged ; that 27,000*l.* had been given to defray the expenses of his marriage, 28,000*l.* for additional jewels and plate, and 26,000*l.* to beautify the matrimonial mansion ; and was it for this that, after all his squanderings, the nation still gave him 138,000*l.* a year, and settled on his wife a jointure of 50,000*l.* a year ! Was this the return that he made for indulgence, kindness, and generosity, which, all the circum-

stances considered, never was surpassed by the conduct of any nation in the world. The PRODIGAL SON, as described in that most beautiful of all beautiful writings, the parable in the Gospel of St. Luke, arose and said, "I will go to my father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." But the father, like the English nation, "while he was yet a great way off, saw him, and ran, and fell on his neck, and said unto his servants, Bring forth the best robe and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand; and bring hither the fatted calf, and let us eat and be merry." How like the conduct of this kind and good father to that of the English nation towards this prodigal Prince of Wales! If the parable had gone on to record that this prodigal afterwards became, though with experience to warn him, a greater prodigal than before, would it not also have recorded the punishment due to prodigality so incorrigible?

62. It is impossible to put upon this letter of the prince, any other construction, than that it meant to tell the princess, that he should no longer be bound by his marriage-vow, and that he *absolved her from hers*; in short, that he meant to live with what *women* he pleased, and that she might live with what *men* she pleased! Besides the scandal; besides the shame brought upon the nation; for, it must bear the shame of

being under rulers thus acting : besides these, here was laid the pretty certain foundation of a *disputed succession* ; and even if this were never to take place (and we *very narrowly escaped it*), what Englishman must not have blushed at the thought of the prospect of being governed by a king, who had given to his wife and the mother of his child (who would naturally succeed him on the throne) a *license* like that expressed in this letter ? But, about the character or feelings of the nation, he seems, in this case at any rate, to have cared nothing. His own mere animal pleasures appear to have been his only care. Yet, he was now *thirty-four years of age*, and within one year of that age, which the sober, cautious, and wise Americans have deemed, by their laws, an age sufficient for the man who is to be the CHIEF MAGISTRATE of their great Republic.

63. For the parties to live under the same roof, after this scandalous insult on the wife, was impossible. The princess soon afterwards went to reside in a house at BLACKHEATH, in the parish of Greenwich, and on the side of the very beautiful Park there, which is at the distance of about five miles from St. James's Palace in Westminster. At this place, which has become memorable from the subsequent transactions connected with it, she resided in a sort of "humble retirement," as she afterwards described it, "banished, as it were, from her husband, and

“almost estranged from *the whole* of the royal family, having no means of having recourse, either for society or advice.” Besides which, she could write and speak English but very imperfectly ; and as, from the very first, from the day of her arrival in this country, the QUEEN and the PRINCESSES showed her little or no countenance ; the *nobility*, notwithstanding the character and conduct that that word ought to imply, studiously shunned her the moment she was cast off by her husband. The *people*, always just when not deceived, felt for her as they ought, and upon all occasions that offered expressed their indignation at the treatment she had received. *Cruel husband* was not and never will be a title to respect in England. In no country is it, indeed, *respected* ; but in England it is detested and abhorred. It was soon discovered that this unprotected foreign lady was not visited by the QUEEN ; that she came into her presence only on state occasions ; and that, in short, she had, of the whole family, *no friend but the old king*, who frequently went alone to visit her.

64. This conduct in the female part of the royal family greatly offended the nation, and justly offended it. What ! the people exclaimed, do they see their daughter and sister-in-law, and she their niece and cousin too, driven from her husband's roof with a baby three months old in her arms, of which baby they are the grandmother and the

aunts ; do they see this, and feel no compassion for the sufferer, though a stranger in the land, and though they know that she has thus been punished and degraded for no fault, and in violation of the most solemn vows ; do they see this, and by keeping aloof from, not only give her no support or consolation, but tacitly tell the world that there is *some just cause* for her banishment ! This conduct gave great offence to the English nation, who, with the exception of the aristocracy, did itself everlasting honour by its conduct towards the persecuted lady ; showed a love of “ fair play,” of that proneness to take part with the weak against the strong, which has ever been amongst its best characteristics. And the royal family have not failed to experience the natural effects of this feeling in the nation, whose regard for that family has never been what it was before the period now under consideration.

65. But, alas ! the sufferings of the unfortunate princess were not to end here ; here they but made a mere beginning ; her banishment was the smallest part of what she was destined to endure. If, indeed, she had been permitted to enjoy that “ *tranquil and comfortable society*,” which the prince, in giving her her discharge, said was “ *within their power*,” she might, though injured and insulted, have led a life free from anxiety, particularly as she might with justice have discarded from her mind all regard for, and

care about, him. But, to suffer her to lead this sort of life appears to have been very far from his thoughts ; for, as it was afterwards amply proved, she was no sooner in her state of banishment, than means were set to work to obtain against her such evidence as would, if established, justify the husband in demanding a divorce.

66. No steps were, however, openly taken, until the year 1806 ; though the pretended grounds of those steps had, some of them, existed five years before. These steps were : 1. A COMMUNICATION to the King, by the Prince of Wales, of certain information that he had received relative to the conduct of his wife ; 2. A WARRANT of the king, authorising and commanding the lord chancellor, the secretary of state for the home department, the first lord of the treasury, and the lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench, to inquire into the truth of the allegations, and to report the result to the king. When we have these documents recorded, we shall have before us the true source of more cabal, intrigue, and mischief, than ought to exist in any nation in ten centuries. The steps were the natural offspring of the cruel and insulting letter from the prince to his wife, on the 30th of April, 1796. As we shall by-and-by see, the plot was hatching during the whole of the ten years ; and the reasons why it was attempted to be put in exe-

II.]

GEORGE IV.

cution *now*, and not *before*, will be stated by-and-by, and will be found to be a matter of great importance, connected as these reasons were with political measures deeply affecting the interests of the country.

THE WARRANT.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Thomas Lord Erskine, Our Chancellor, has this day laid before Us an Abstract of certain written Declarations touching the Conduct of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales : We do hereby authorize, empower, and direct, the said Thomas Lord Erskine, Our Chancellor ; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor George John Earl Spencer, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State ; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor William Wyndham Lord Grenville, First Commissioner of Our Treasury ; and Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Edward Lord Ellenborough, Our Chief Justice, to hold Pleas before Ourselves, to inquire into the truth of the same, and to examine upon oath such persons as they shall see fit, touching and concerning the same, and to report to Us the result of such Examinations.—Given at Our Castle of Windsor, on the twenty-ninth day of May, in the forty-sixth year of Our Reign.

G. R.

THE REPORT.

May it please your Majesty,

YOUR majesty having been graciously pleased, by an instrument under your majesty's royal sign manual, a copy of which is annexed to this report, to "authorize, empower, and "direct us to inquire into the truth of certain written declarations, touching the conduct of her royal highness the "Princess of Wales, an abstract of which had been laid before "your majesty, and to examine upon oath such persons as we "should see fit, touching and concerning the same, and to "report to your majesty the result of such examinations," we have, in dutiful obedience to your majesty's commands, proceeded to examine the several witnesses, the copies of whose depositions we have hereunto annexed; and, in further execution of the said commands, we now most respectfully submit to your majesty the report of these examinations as it has appeared to us: but we beg leave at the same time humbly to refer your majesty, for more complete information, to the examinations themselves, in order to correct any error of judgment into which we may have unintentionally fallen with respect to any part of this business. On a reference to the above-mentioned declarations, as the necessary foundation of all our proceedings, we found that they consisted in certain statements, which had been laid before his royal highness the Prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of her royal highness the Princess. That these statements not only imputed to her royal highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour; but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important facts, viz., That her royal highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her royal highness, in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.

These allegations thus made, had, as we found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of her royal highness, but had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned.

In the painful situation in which his royal highness was placed by these communications, we learnt that his royal highness had adopted the only course which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature (though going to a far less extent) one line only could be pursued.

Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state so nearly touching the honour of your majesty's royal family, and by possibility, affecting the succession of your majesty's crown.

Your majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first place, what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt concerning them.

On this review, therefore, of the matters thus alleged, and of the course hitherto pursued upon them, we deemed it proper, in the first place, to examine those persons in whose declarations the occasion for this inquiry had originated. Because, if they, on being examined upon oath, had retracted or varied their assertions, all necessity for further investigation might possibly have been precluded.

We accordingly first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas, and Charlotte his wife; who both

positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to this report, and are circumstantial and positive.

The most material of those allegations, into the truth of which we had been directed to inquire, being thus far supported by the oaths of the parties from whom they had proceeded, we then felt it our duty to follow up the inquiry by the examination of such other persons as we judged best able to afford us information as to the facts in question.

We thought it beyond all doubt that, in this course of inquiry, many particulars must be learnt which would be necessarily conclusive on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actually-existing pregnancy; so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a delivery; and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question, as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the princess; that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative or negative, on this part of the subject.

This expectation was not disappointed. We are happy to declare your majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries.

The identity of the child now with the princess, its parentage, the place and the date of its birth, the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under her royal highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. That child was

beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-street hospital, on the 11th of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the princess's house in the month of November following. Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the princess, as stated in the original declarations—a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit. The testimonies on these two points are contained in the annexed depositions and letters. We have not partially abstracted them in this report, lest by any unintentional omission we might weaken their effect; but we humbly offer to your majesty this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation on the result of the whole inquiry.

We do not, however, feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your majesty has been pleased to command us to inquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her royal highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.

From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity in this respect we have seen no ground to question.

On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing, it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your majesty's wisdom: but we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the inquiry as distinctly as on the former facts, that, as on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and

delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved, so on the other hand, we think that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and if true are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.

We cannot close this report without humbly assuring your majesty, that it was on every account our anxious wish to have executed this delicate trust with as little publicity as the nature of the case would possibly allow; and we entreat your majesty's permission to express our full persuasion, that if this wish has been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to any-thing unnecessarily said or done by us.

All which is most humbly submitted to your majesty.

(Signed)

ERSKINE,
SPENCER,
GRENVILLE,
ELLENBOROUGH.

July 14th, 1806.

67. It does not comport with my plan to enter *here* into the case of the cruelly-treated princess, who was, during the whole of her married life, dogged by spies, and beset by perjurers and traitors; *her case*, which forms the great characteristic of the regency and reign of this "*mild*" and "*generous*" and "*gentleman*" king; her case, though as we go along we shall find it force itself upon us here and there, must wait for full display, till we come to the date of her death and burial. In this place it is my business to show how this affair of the princess affected the *great and general interests of the*

nation ; how it affected the *policy of the kingdom*, external as well as internal ; how clearly it showed that the interests and safety of millions were thought little of in comparison with the indulgence of the passions of one single man.

68. One thing, in this report, will have stricken every reader ; namely, that the princess *should have the child in her own house four years*, and that no complaint should have been made by the prince *before now*. When we look at the *evidence*, we find that the originators of the whole story were a Sir JOHN DOUGLAS and HIS WIFE, who had *gone to live* at Blackheath (near MONTAGUE-HOUSE, the princess's place of residence) in 1801, and who *swore positively* to the facts of the *pregnancy and delivery* in 1802. They both swore, also, that they communicated the facts to the prince from a *deep sense of duty, as loyal subjects* ; the four lords say, in this their report, that it was the *bounden duty* of the prince to communicate to the king matter "so nearly affecting the honour of the " royal family, and, by possibility, the succession to the crown ;" but it does not appear to have occurred to those lords to state *why* the prince had not made the communication to the king *at an earlier period* ! He might not be informed of the facts before. Strange, indeed ! What ! a child kept in the house of the princess *for four years*, nursed as if it were her own ; and

the prince, her husband, never hear of it, though only at five miles distance from his own palace, though his wife was surrounded by servants that had been, for the greater part, in his own service ! But did those Douglasses, those loyal people, those people who swore that they communicated the facts to him from a sense of their duty as loyal subjects, did those people *suppress* their anxiety about the succession to the crown *for four years* ? Did they hide the facts for four years ? and if they did, were they to be *believed* when they communicated the facts ? And how came the FOUR LORDS not to ask (and it does not appear that they did) *at what time it was* that the Douglasses *first* communicated the facts to the prince ? and if the first communication were in 1806, how came the lords never to ask the Douglasses *why* they did not communicate the facts *before the year 1806* ? And when it became clear that the evidence of the Douglasses was false, how came they not to be *prosecuted for perjury* ? And if the tribunal were (as was alleged) *not of a nature* to bring those, who had sworn falsely before it, under the law for punishing perjury, *why* did the *ministers* of that day counsel the king to appoint *such a tribunal* ?

69. *Who, then, were the ministers of that day* ? And here, when we answer this question, we see all the mystery removed ; we see why the child lived so quietly for four years ; we see why

the Douglasses could restrain their feelings of loyalty *no longer than the year 1806*; we see how it came to burst out all at once at that time; and this leads us to the development of intrigue upon intrigue, of the existence of which, and of the injurious consequences to the country, not one man out of ten thousand has any the most distant idea.

70. *The ministers of that day* were those who are called the WHIGS. They consisted of a *coalition* indeed; but this was the name they bore; and the principal offices were filled thus: Lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; Lord Erskine, lord chancellor: Lord Spencer, secretary of state for the home department; Mr. Fox, secretary of state for the foreign department; Mr. Windham, secretary of state for the department of war and colonies; Mr. Grey (now Earl), first lord of the admiralty; Lord Moira, master general of the ordnance; Lord Fitzwilliam, president of the council; Lord Sidmouth, privy seal; Lord Henry Petty (now Marquis of Lansdown), chancellor of the exchequer; and Ellenborough, the lord chief justice, had a seat in the cabinet. How this ministry *came to be in power* is a matter which belongs to the history of George III. For our present purpose, it is, as to this matter, sufficient to say, that this ministry had succeeded that of PITT, upon his death, which took place in Janu-

ary, 1806. Now, let it be well remembered, that Fox, who, and whose adherents, had now got into power, had always been a sort of political mentor of the prince; that ERSKINE, who was now the *lord chancellor*, had, for many years, been one of his chief companions; and that Lord MOIRA, who was now master general of the ordnance, had been on the footing of a brother with the prince for a great many years, his "*personal friend*" *par excellence*.

71. The princess, in her answer to the report of the four lords, distinctly declared that the report, and the whole of the proceeding against her, were the fruit of a "foul conspiracy;" and though there be in the documents no *proof* of any subornation of the Douglasses, it is, at any rate, certain, that their information against the princess was not made known to the king until, as appears by the WARRANT, (paragraph 66,) *the month of May, 1806*; that is to say, until about *a hundred days after the Whigs, the prince's friends, got into power!* For *four years*, while Addington and Pitt were ministers, the child lived very quietly; the Douglasses had known of the pregnancy and delivery; they (as they *swore*) were alarmed for the succession to the throne, and yet the first trace of their communicating the information is, from the documents, found to be in December, 1805. But, at any rate, we find that they had made the com-

munication to the prince *before the 3rd of that month*; what time before is not stated; but on that day Lady Douglas gave a narrative to the Duke of Sussex, who took it down in writing, and it was signed by him, as having been made in his presence: and the "*true copy*" was attested by BLOOMFIELD. The narrative sets out with stating that the narrator has been "*ordered by the Prince of Wales*" to give the narrative; but the *precise time* of the first communication to him does not appear. It was, however, *before the 3rd of December, 1805*. Well, then, here was all the story about the pregnancy and the delivery; here were the loyal Douglasses *at last* performing the duty, which for four long years they had neglected in so unaccountable a manner; here the husband had all the story about his wife and the child, regularly written down and attested; and yet from this time to the month of May, and late in that month too, there are no traces of his having communicated the matter to the king. In fact it is clear that he did not make any such communication. For as the warrant (paragraph 66) proves, the king never heard of the matter until the 29th of May, 1806; that is to say, until *six months*, all but a few days, after the prince had the attested declarations in his hands! Very surprising *at the least*.

72. When the communication was at last made to the king, it consisted of *abstracts of the*

declarations of the Douglasses. Why, then, were these not laid before the king sooner? If they were worthy of serious attention in *May*, why not in the previous *December*? Oh! there was the chancellor, *Thomas Lord Erskine*, NOW to lay them before the king! But, was there not the chancellor, *John Lord Eldon*, to lay them before the king in *December*? The prince's friends came into power in *February*; and *they*, it appears, soon discovered the necessity of making this matter known to the king, though there does not, from the documents, appear to have been any ground of accusation against the princess, which did not exist, and which had not been amply detailed, on the 3rd of the previous month of *December*.

73. The princess, conscious of her innocence, and indignant at the "foul conspiracy" against her, would, if she had been *left to herself*, or had had only some female friend of plain sense, able to write English, have blown the conspirators into the air in a short time; but, unhappily for her, and unhappily for the nation also, the faction out of place *got her into their hands*; and, as we are now about to see, sacrificed her to their own purposes of power and emolument. The warrant was issued, the commission held, and the report made, without her being at all informed of the matter. It was an *ex parte* affair altogether; the first intimation that she received of

the matter was in the *report* (par. 66), which was sent to her by the lord chancellor. On the 17th of August, she wrote to the king a commentary on this report, and praying for documents and further information. At last, on the 8th December, she sent to the king her grand statement of complaints against her persecutors. All this time *she had not been received at court*. But, on the 28th of January, she received, through the lord chancellor, *a message* from the king, saying that he did not think it necessary for him "*longer to decline* receiving her into his presence;" but, at the same time, giving her a gentle *reprimand* on the score of levity of conduct. The princess instantly answered, that she should attend the king with great joy; and the king, in reply, told her that, at some days distance, he would *rather* receive her *in London* than *at Windsor*. The queen and family were at Windsor! Before, however, the interview was to take place in London, he wrote to her to say, that it must be *again deferred*; for, "that the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents, which the king directed his cabinet to transmit to him, made a formal communication to him, of his intention *to put them into the hands of his lawyers*; accompanied by a request, that his majesty would *suspend any further steps* in the business, until the Prince of Wales should be enabled to

“ submit to him the statement which he proposed to make. The king therefore considers it incumbent upon him to defer naming a day to the Princess of Wales, until the *further result of the prince's intention shall have been made known to him.*”

74. This intimation, which was dated 10th February, 1807, was enough to inflame any one, and particularly a spirited woman ; and now she *threatened to do* that which she ought to have *done at first* ; namely, *expose the whole affair to the public.* The prince had had all the documents in his hands for *seven months* ; and now, when he found that the princess was *about to be received at court*, he wanted further delay, and she was, though the charges against her were *proved to be false*, still to remain in a state of disgrace ! In her answer, therefore, to this intimation, she declares that she will endure this treatment no longer ; and she tells them that, if another week pass without her receiving information that the king is ready to receive her, she will *cause all the documents to be published.* In this letter, which was dated on the 16th of February, 1807, the princess rises in her demands ; she says, that now, after all this delay, and all the suspicions against her, to which this long banishment from court must have given rise, a mere reception *by the king, or at the court*, will not be sufficient for the clearing of her character ;

that *now* it will be necessary that she be received *into the bosom of the royal family*, and restored to her former respect and station *amongst them* ; and that, besides this, it will be necessary that she be “restored to the use of her *apartments in Carlton House* ;” or, that she have assigned to her “some apartment in *one of the royal palaces*” in or near London. She then states, distinctly, that these are the conditions on which alone she can or will refrain from publishing all the documents : and she concludes her letter in these words :—“I trust, therefore, sire, that I “ may now close this long letter, in confidence “ *that many days will not elapse* before I shall “ receive from your majesty, that assurance that “ *my just requests may be so completely granted*, “ as may render it possible for me (which no- “ thing else can) to *avoid the painful disclosure* “ *to the world* of all the circumstances of that “ injustice, and of those unmerited sufferings “ which these proceedings, in the manner in “ which they have been conducted, have brought “ upon me.”

75. No answer having been given to this letter, the princess, *on the 5th of March*, again wrote to the king on the subject, for the *last time* ; and, after expressing her mortification at not having received an answer to her letter, said, in conclusion, “I am now reduced to the necessity of abandoning all hope that your majesty

“ will comply with my humble, my earnest, and
“ anxious *requests*. Your majesty, therefore,
“ will not be surprised to find that the publica-
“ tion of the proceedings alluded to will not be
“ *withheld beyond Monday next !* ”

76. The publication was delayed, however ; it never appeared *until* 1813 ; and then, as will be shown in due time and place, it was brought forth by the acts of *the writer of this history*, had it not been for whom, the probability is, that it never would have appeared at all, or, at least, during the reign of George IV. And now I have to unfold an intrigue, the like of which has scarcely ever been heard of, and in the history of which we shall see how a whole nation was made to suffer for these whims (to give them the mildest terms) of one single man. The requests of the princess were granted ; she was received at court, and into the royal family ; she had apartments allotted her in Kensington Palace. But, as all the world saw, these outward signs *did not clear her of all suspicion*. The newspapers had, for seven months, been ringing with the criminations and recriminations ; those on her side had repeatedly threatened *publication* ; on the other side it was stated, that she *had not been entirely acquitted* ; even the newspapers of the out-faction allowed that she had been guilty of some “ *trifling levities*,” and that the king had given her a *gentle reprimand*. Therefore, to be re-

ceived at court, and to have apartments in a palace, were *not enough* to wipe away all imputation. It was known that a royal commission had been sitting on her conduct; it was acknowledged that she had been reprimanded; and, therefore, it was impossible that some suspicion should not remain against her, until the whole affair *should be made public*. This, therefore, she ought to have done; and her not doing was, as we shall see in time, the cause, and the *sole cause*, of all those indignities and calamities which marked the remainder of her life, and that finally *brought her to an untimely end*.

77. *How came she, then, not to do this?* The answer to this question develops the *grand intrigue* above alluded to; but to give this answer properly, we must now go back, and get into *party-politics*. We have seen (in paragraph 70) that a new ministry, called the Whigs, was formed in February, 1806; that this ministry contained the most distinguished friends of the prince; and that it was not until *they* came into power that the prince laid before the king, through the chancellor, the charges against his wife. The *new opposition* consisted, of course, of those who had been in the ministry of PITT, and who were now out of place. There were the then late chancellor, Eldon, the Dundasses, Lord Castlereagh, Jenkinson, Canning, Huskisson, and some others of less note; but there

now came a man amongst them, who soon surpassed all the rest in power as well as in impudence and insolence towards the people. This was that SPENCER PERCEVAL, of whose signal death we shall have to speak by and by! This man, a sharp lawyer, inured, from his first days at the bar, to the carrying on of state prosecutions; a sort of understrapper, in London, to the attorneys-general in London, and frequently their deputy in the counties; a short, spare, pale-faced, hard, keen, sour-looking man, with a voice well suited to the rest, with words in abundance at his command, with the industry of a laborious attorney, with no knowledge of the great interest of the nation, foreign or domestic, but with a thorough knowledge of those means by which power is obtained and preserved in England, and with no troublesome scruples as to the employment of those means. He had been solicitor-general under Pitt up to 1801, and attorney-general under Addington and under Pitt up to February, 1806. This man became the *adviser of the princess*, during the period of the investigation and correspondence, of which we have just seen the history; and, as we are now about to see, the power he obtained, by the means of that office, *made him the prime minister of England to the day of his death*, though no more fit for that office than any other barrister in London, taken by tossing up or by ballot.

78. At the close of paragraph 75, we have seen that the king was told that the *publication* would take place on *the Monday*. That Monday was the *9th of March*. In this difficulty what was to be done? The Whig ministry, with their eyes fixed on the *probable speedy succession of the prince*, or, at least, *his accession to power*, the king having recently been in a very shakey state; the Whig ministry, with their eyes fixed on this expected event, and not perceiving, as Perceval did, the power that the *unpublished book* (for "THE BOOK" it is now called) *would give them with the prince* as well as with the king; the Whig ministry would not consent to the terms of the princess, thinking, too, that in spite of her anger and her threats, she would not throw away the scabbard as towards the king.

79. In the meanwhile, however, Perceval, wholly unknown to the Whigs, had got the *BOOK* actually *printed*, and bound up *ready for publication*, and it is clear that it was intended to be published on the Monday named in the princess's letter; namely, on the *9th of March*, unless prevented by the king's *yielding to the wishes of Perceval*. He did yield; that is to say, he resolved to *change his ministers*! A *ground* for doing this was, however, a difficulty to be got over. To allege and promulgate the *true ground* would never do; for then the public

would have cried aloud for the publication, which contained matter so deeply scandalous to the king and all the royal family. Therefore *another ground* was alleged ; and herein we are going to behold another and another important consequence, and other national calamities, proceeding from this dispute between the prince and his wife.

80. This other ground that was chosen was the CATHOLIC BILL. The Whigs stood pledged to pass a law for the further relief of the Roman Catholics. They had in September, 1806, *dissolved the parliament*, though it was then only *four years* old, for the purpose of securing a majority in the House of Commons ; and into this new House, which had met on the 19th of December, 1806, they had introduced the CATHOLIC BILL, by the hands of Mr. GREY (now become Lord Howick) with the *great and general approbation of the House*, and with a clear understanding, that, notwithstanding all the cant and hypocrisy that the foes of the Catholics had, at different times, played off about the *conscientious scruples* of the KING, the king had now explicitly and cheerfully *given his consent* to the bringing in of this bill. What, therefore, was the *surprise* of every-body, when on the 13th of March (mark the *dates*), it began to be rumoured through the newspapers, that the king had *changed his mind* about the CATHOLIC BILL ; that his *scruples* of

conscience had returned upon him. This caused dreadful alarm in the tabernacles of the Whigs, the understrappers of which faction, who had scarcely as yet touched the second half-year's salary, ran about in a fright as great as that of people who feel an earthquake under their feet. To make a young man of sound mind in sound body resolve never to be a state-dependent, to hedge or ditch or fill dung-cart, rather than depend on a government for food and raiment, there needed nothing but the bare sight of these wretched people at that time.

81. Their fears were but too well founded, though the chiefs of the faction did every-thing in their power to preserve their places. They not only *offered to withdraw the Catholic bill*, but *actually withdrew it*, and that, too, by the hands of that same Lord HOWICK (now Earl Grey) who had brought it in amidst *the plaudits* of that *same House*, who now, on the 18th of March, without a single word, suffered that very bill to be *withdrawn*! But, the doctrine that the Whigs now openly avowed, and which we shall presently have to notice, exhibited the nature of this "*beautiful constitution*" in its true light. They *withdrew* the bill; but the Catholics, to whom they stood solemnly pledged, were coming *with a petition* for the bill that had been thus withdrawn. The ministers (having no thought of quitting their places), therefore, in

the hope of pacifying the Catholics, and of preserving some little matter of character for political consistency and honesty, entered, in the *Council-Book*, a minute in these words: "That they trusted that his majesty would see the indispensable necessity of their expressing, on withdrawing the bill, the strong persuasion they felt of the benefits which would result from a different course of policy to the Catholics of Ireland; and they further stated, that it was indispensable to their characters, that they should openly avow these sentiments, not only on the present occasion, but in the event of the Catholic petition coming forward: and they further insisted, that the present deference to his majesty might not be understood as restraining them from submitting *for his majesty's decision*, from time to time, such measures as circumstances might require respecting the state of Ireland."

82. The king, or rather Perceval, seems to have had no idea of the possibility of the Whig ministry remaining in office after they had been told that the king disapproved of the bill; he must, indeed, have regarded it as impossible that any men on earth could be so base as to withdraw, for the sake of retaining their places, a measure which they had repeatedly represented as "*absolutely necessary to the tranquillity and safety of the kingdom.*" Alas! well as he knew

them, he greatly underrated the extent of their political meanness and servility. He was, therefore, astonished when he found them still clinging to their places on the miserable shuffle contained in this *minute of council*; and, therefore, to make short work with them, to choke them off as it were, the king was advised, not only to express his *disapprobation* of this minute of council, but to require of the ministers that they should *withdraw it too*; and, further, that they should sign a declaration of a directly opposite nature, pledging themselves *never* to bring forward again the measure they had abandoned; nay more, never to propose, *even to the king himself, anything connected with the Catholic question.*

83. If this had failed, the king must have *set fire* to Whitehall and Downing-street. It succeeded, however, not because the Whigs would not have signed even this declaration, if they could have hoped that they could thereby have retained their places; but they saw in this paper not the hand and the mind of the poor old king, but of *somebody* else, and they could see that that somebody, or those somebodies, who were indeed Perceval and his party, had got the power of turning them out; and that, therefore, even the signing of this declaration, degrading as it would have been, would not save them. Having refused to set their hands and seals to such a glaring proof of their baseness, they were *turned out*,

and were of course succeeded by Perceval, Elton, and the rest of that set who, under Pitt, had so long ruled this deluded nation.

84. The *defence* of themselves, on the part of the Whigs, and the subsequent conduct and management of the parliament, exhibit, in their full blaze, all the beauties of this beautiful and "*venerable constitution.*" The history of the *withdrawing of the Catholic bill* now came out ; and a history more disgraceful never stained the character of any government on earth. The public cried aloud for an *explanation* of this matter. It was at once understood by everybody that the ministers had been turned out *on account of the Catholic bill*, and a cry was raised that they had attempted to *force the king to break his coronation oath* by making concessions to the Catholics ! O how this nation was the sport of hypocrisy on this occasion ! The Whigs, in order to parry this deadly cry, said that what they had done had been *with the king's consent* ; that, so far from their having, in this case, attempted to force him to act *against his conscience*, they had consulted him *before they* brought in the bill, and not only consulted him, but had *explained all the details* of the measure to him, and had, after this, brought in the bill with *his cordial approbation.*

85. No doubt of the truth of this ; but then the *withdrawing* of the bill, which was a fact

then fresh in every mind, became, in the eyes of every man of sense, an act of indelible disgrace, involving a principle utterly subversive of every idea of any thing like *representative government*. LORD HOWICK, who was now, Fox having died in the autumn of 1806, become secretary of state for foreign affairs, had to perform the task of giving, in the House of Commons, the explanation of this matter, which, on the 26th of March, 1807, he did in these strange and memorable words: "It *has* been stated," said he, "by some persons who have animadverted upon this transaction, that ministers were not warranted in bringing forward a public measure without previously obtaining the consent of his majesty. But this extravagant proposition scarcely deserves serious notice. According to any rational view of the subject, the duty of a magistrate appears to be *two-fold*. He may act in a double capacity upon different occasions; namely, as a minister, and as an individual member of parliament. There was no minister who had not acted so occasionally. If, indeed, it were culpable to pursue the course some extravagant writers now maintain, Mr. Pitt's conduct upon the slave trade and parliamentary reform would have been highly censurable; for *that distinguished statesman*, in both these instances, brought forward the propositions as

“ an individual member of parliament. The
“ constitutional distinction, which, in concur-
“ rence with my colleagues, I take between the
“ duty of a minister in the one case and the
“ other, is this; that when a minister brings
“ forward any motion *as a measure of govern-*
“ *ment* which has undergone any discussion in
“ the cabinet, he violates his duty, *unless such*
“ *measure shall have received the sanction of*
“ *that authority.* I should, of course, feel
“ myself very culpable, if I attempted to bring
“ forward any measures in parliament as a
“ ministerial measure *unless I had previously*
“ *submitted that measure to the consideration of*
“ *the king, and obtained his majesty's consent to*
“ *its adoption.* It was therefore that I laid before
“ his majesty all the particulars with regard to
“ the measure respecting the Catholics, and
“ waited to obtain his majesty's approbation be-
“ fore I attempted to submit the consideration
“ of that measure to this house.” Here we
have the modern creed of the Whig politicians.
What does the English constitution, or the law
of parliament, know of any *two-fold* capacity of
the members of the House of Commons? Ac-
cording to that constitution, those members are
the guardians of the property and the liberties of
the people; and they are nothing else. But,
now we learn; now, for the very first time since
the parliament of England began to exist, the

House of Commons are flatly and plainly told, that there is another body, namely, the cabinet council, who discuss bills, and resolve upon adopting them, before they are presented to that house, before *leave* be given to bring them in ! One of their own members rises in his place, and plainly tells them, that he has recently brought in a bill because the king wished him to do it, and that he has since *withdrawn* that bill because the king changed his mind, and for no other reason whatever, though he was, at the same time, firmly convinced, that the passing of the bill was necessary to tranquillize and conciliate a fourth part of the people of the kingdom ! Nay, he does not stop here ; but goes on to say, that, unless he had obtained the king's approbation for bringing in the bill, he should have regarded it as an act *highly culpable* to have brought it in ! We might, perhaps, have presumed, before, that such really was the case ; but now it is openly avowed, that bills, before leave be moved for to bring them in, are discussed and resolved upon in the cabinet ; that is to say, amongst men who are the king's servants during pleasure, and that they receive the sanction of their master before they are proposed to the parliament. What pretty stuff have Blackstone and Paley and that foreign sycophant De Lolme been writing about the checks and balances in that wonderful product of human wisdom called the

English constitution ! As to the distinction between bills brought forward *as measures of the cabinet*, and bills originating with persons as *individual members of parliament*, what does the constitution know of such distinction ? Does any writer upon our constitution make such a distinction ? Does Blackstone, who has given us a commentary upon the whole of our laws, talk of any such distinction ? Has he once named such a thing as a *cabinet* ? Can the parliament recognise the existence of any such council, or body of men ? Is not such a body utterly unknown to our laws ? Besides, let us ask a little, what bills there are, of any consequence, which are *not* measures of the cabinet, if we admit of this distinction ? All bills relating to the army ; all bills relating to the navy ; all bills relating to the church ; all bills relating to the colonies ; all bills relating to foreign connexions and subsidies ; all bills relating to loans and taxes, not only in the principal, but also in the amount ; in short, no one will pretend to deny, that every bill, in which the people are generally interested, must, according to this distinction, be regarded *as a measure of the cabinet* ; and therefore, if to all such bills the king's consent, *previously* obtained, be an indispensable requisite, we may call upon Blackstone and Paley to come forth from the grave, vindicate their writings, and tell, if they can, of what

use is a House of Commons, except that of amusing the unthinking mass of the people with the idea that they are represented, and that the laws, by which they are taxed and bound, are made with their own consent. Yes, Mr. Blackstone, you, who through four mortal volumes, which, piled upon one another, might supply the place of a stool, have rung the changes upon the blessings arising from the checks and balances of the English constitution, do rise and tell us where, if Lord Howick's doctrine be sound, or if the parliament be content to act upon it, or rather, to be passive under it, we are to look for those inestimable checks and balances. It is the peculiar business of the House of Commons to frame and to pass bills for the raising of money upon the people; and when they pass any bill for the placing of the public money at the disposal of the crown, it is called a *grant*. Now, as all these bills, without one exception, are what Lord Howick terms, *measures of the cabinet*, what a farce, if this doctrine were sound, would this *granting* work be! According to this doctrine, it is resolved in the cabinet to bring in a bill for granting the king money; the king has the bill submitted to him, and directs it to be brought in; the secretary to the treasury brings it in; it is passed without a division; and *this*, this, Lord Howick would tell us, is the true "*practice* of the constitution in this free

country," where, as Blackstone says, the people, by their representatives, *tax themselves* !

86. Here was, then, a grand blow given to the "*venerable constitution*." But it was speedily followed by another, coming still from the same cause. We have seen that the Whig ministry *dissolved the parliament*, when it was *four years* old, and we are now going to see this parliament dissolved when only *four months* old ! The new ministry had nominally at its head *the late Duke of Portland* ; but PERCEVAL, who was *chancellor of the exchequer*, was, in fact, the master of the whole affair, co-operating, however, cordially with ELDON, who now again became chancellor. The moment the dismissal of the Whigs was resolved on, the other party set up the cry of "NO POPERY." The walls and houses, not only of London, but of the country towns and villages, were covered with these words, sometimes in chalk and sometimes in paint ; the clergy and the corporations were all in motion ; even the cottages on the skirts of the commons and the forests heard fervent *blessings* poured out on the head of the "*good old king* for preserving "*the nation from a rekindling of the fires in* "*Smithfield* !" Never was delusion equal to this ! Never a people so deceived ; never public credulity so great ; never hypocrisy so profound and so detestably malignant as that of the de-ceivers ! The mind shrinks back at the thought

of an eternity of suffering, even as the lot of the deliberate murderer; but if the thought were to be endured, it would be as applicable to that awful sentence awarded to hypocrisy like this.

87. However, it answered its purpose for the time; the rage of the people from one end of England to the other, was excited against the Whig ministry; and in this state of things, on the 27th of April, 1807, the parliament was dissolved. It was done by commission, in a speech which contained the following passage: “We are further commanded to state to you, “that his majesty is anxious to recur *to the* “*sense of his people*, while the events which have “recently taken place are yet fresh in their re- “collection. His majesty feels, that in resorting “to this measure, under the present circum- “stances, he at once *demonstrates* in the *most* “*unequivocal manner*, his own *conscientious* “*persuasion* of the rectitude of those motives “upon which he has acted; and affords to his “people the best opportunity of testifying their “determination to support him in every exercise “of the prerogatives of his crown, which is con- “formable to the sacred obligations under which “they are held, and conducive to the welfare of “his kingdom, and to the security of the con- “stitution. His majesty directs us to express “his entire conviction that, after so long a

“ reign, marked by a series of indulgences to
“ his Roman Catholic subjects, they, in common
“ with every other class of his people, must feel
“ assured of his attachment to the principles of
“ a just and enlightened toleration ; and of his
“ anxious desire to protect equally, and promote
“ impartially, the happiness of all descriptions
“ of his subjects.”

88. Away went the delusion all over the country ! The ministerial members got turned out of their seats, as a set of delinquent servants are driven out of their places. Many of them did not dare to show their faces in the boroughs and counties where they before had been elected ; and, in short, as Mr. WINDHAM told PERCEVAL in the House of Commons, the new ministry sent the majority of the parliament back to the people to be *torn to pieces*. And all this on a pretext as false as perjury itself ! There were the people putting up prayers for the prolongation of the life of the “ good old king,” as their sole protector against the *horrors of popery*, and exclaiming against those ministers who had wanted to force him to *break his coronation oath*, when he had *actually consented* to the measure *after all its details had been explained to him* ; and he had had no objection to it, and no thought of changing the ministry, till the princess *threatened him with the publication of the book* !

89. These transactions, however, disgraceful

as they were to the factions, and little creditable as the temporary delusion might be to the understandings of the people, did a great deal of good in the end, by opening the eyes of the people with regard to the *true character of the factions*, and of the *House of Commons*. The people saw ministers bring in a bill; they saw the house approve of it; they saw the same ministers *withdraw* the bill without a word from the house against this step; they heard the ministers declare that they held it to be their duty to have the king's *previous* consent to every bill that they brought in; they heard them declare that the bill had been withdrawn *because the king had changed his mind relative to it*; they saw one parliament dissolved, at four years old, to suit one ministry; they saw another dissolved at *four months*, to suit another ministry. They could not see all this without great disgust being excited in their minds with regard to the factions and the house also. Great disgust was excited; and from the period of these striking transactions the *factions date their fall*. From this time the main body of the people began to see that there was *no difference* in the factions; that both sought the public money; that all their professions and promises were false; and that, of every quarrel between them, the people became the only sufferers. So that from this affair of the poor ill-treated princess, arose this great good to

the nation, that it, *never since that time, has been the sport of any faction* ; but, as we shall see in the sequel, this was only a small part of the good which ought to endear her memory to the people of England.

90. But, alas ! while she was laying the foundation of the ruin of the factions, and of the monopoly of the aristocracy, she was, in consequence of the bad advice under which she acted, laying the foundation of all those persecutions and calamities that finally overtook her. Her interest, her honour, her personal safety, demanded a publication of the BOOK ; and, as was stated before, the book, under the direction of PERCEVAL, was, at the time when she wrote her last letter, as before cited (par. 75), actually *printed and bound up* for publication. But the king having consented to turn out the ministry, PERCEVAL, who had lodged the books with a bookseller, to be ready for sale on the day appointed, took them all (or, as *he thought all*) home to his country-house, and there *burnt them*, not leaving one in the possession of even the princess herself. He had now *obtained what he wanted* : he had made use of the princess for his own immediate elevation, and, as we have to see by and by, for the duration of his power *over her husband* as well as over her father-in-law ; she had thus fully answered his ends, and that of his party ; and she was now, therefore, left to

her fate ; left to drawl along a sort of half-disgraceful life, until fifteen years afterwards, that very party found an occasion for destroying her.

91. She had, indeed, apartments allotted her in *Kensington Palace* ; she was received *at court* ; but the king, her *only* friend, was daily growing older ; he was stone blind ; his mind had had a severe shock in 1804, which was the second of the kind that he had experienced ; the courtiers of *both factions* were looking up to her husband ; the people, generally speaking, thought her innocent ; nobody pretended that the charges against her were *not false* ; but, still, every one said, *Why does she not publish the proofs of her innocence ?* And this very argument was urged as corroborative of the charges against her, in 1820 ; and that, too, by the very faction, whose advice had prevented her from publishing in 1807 ! Perceval and his co-operators, who wished to keep THE BOOK from the eyes of the world, in order to have it to hold up in the face of the husband in case of a Regency-question arising, prevailed, in an evil hour prevailed, on the princess to be silent on the subject of the book, persuading her, that her appearance at court and her residence in a palace would satisfy the people of her perfect innocence, and that whenever the prince came into power, either as king or regent, she would take her proper station as princess-regent or queen, and that the circumstance of

her daughter being the heiress-apparent would of necessity give her great weight and power. Thus they prevented her from making, while her husband was weak, that attack, which, when he became *strong*, it was too late for her to think of making.

92. Thus, then, she had to live in this state of neglect *until the year* 1811, when the derangement of mind of the king rendered a *regency necessary*. And now, strictly speaking, begins the history of the *Regency and Reign of George IV.*, during which we shall find, that greater innovations were made in the governing of the kingdom, greater inroads on the rights and liberties of the people, greater severities exercised on them, and a greater mass of misery endured by them, than during any former, or any ten former, reigns, the reign of George III. not excepted, though that reign has been justly called a reign of taxation and of terror.

CHAPTER III.

From the Commencement of the Regency, in July, 1811, to the Death of the Prime Minister, Perceval, in May, 1812.

93. FROM the spring of 1807, until the month of June 1810, there had been, at times, rumours relative to the state of the king's mind. People talked about it very familiarly ; but, as is always the case where great and terrible power exists, and especially with a press, nine-tenths of which was always directly or indirectly interested in propagating falsehood, amidst the mass of contradictory reports, the public could come at no certainty relative to the facts. There is nothing like a corrupt press, which has the appearance or name of being free, for the propagation or sustaining of falsehood ; and, accordingly, with three hundred newspapers in circulation, and with all the boast about entire freedom of the press, the English people knew no more than the people of China did what was the real situation of the king during the three last-mentioned years. If any

person, being a private individual, had by any accident happened to come at a certain knowledge of the state of the king, and so certain as to be able to produce proof of it on oath, he would not have dared to make it known through the means of the press, unless willing, to subject himself to utter pecuniary ruin, and to a great chance of losing his life. But, at last, the fact of the derangement of mind and absolute insanity of the king could be disguised no longer; and, in the month of November, 1810, out came the fact.

94. It is of the greatest importance that the English people, at the important crisis in which I am writing, be enabled to call to mind the circumstances attending the disclosure of this insanity of the king. It was not announced in any official manner, until the month of November. The king had prorogued the parliament by commission, on the 21st June, 1810; but now, when the fact of the insanity could no longer be denied, it was declared openly in Parliament that the king had been incapable of affixing his signature to the commission for their further prorogation. In order to disguise the true state of the king from the people, fabricated stories were incessantly promulgated through the newspapers. In the month of October, and so late as the 25th of that month, it was stated that the king's daughter, the Princess Amelia, died; and it was related of her that, just before her death, she

had ordered a ring to be made, which she herself had placed on the finger of her father. This account was published, as I have observed before, on the 25th of October. On the same day, it was declared through the same channels, that the king was in perfect health. The words of this announcement or declaration are so remarkable, that they must find their place here, taken from a public paper, called the '*Morning Chronicle*,' of the 25th of October. "This day his majesty " enters into the 51st year of his reign; and we " rejoice to learn, that he possesses *perfect health*, " *and promises the enjoyment of many years in* " *the bosom of his family and people.*" Battles, sieges, even conquests, are of little consequence when compared with the means by which a nation is duped and deluded on to its ruin. This same, this very same instructor of the public, on the 2nd of November, that is to say, seven clear days only after the former announcement, announced to the public, that the king had been in a state of great "*agitation*" from the date of three weeks before that 2nd of November. Nay, it announced to the public that, on the *25th of October*, the very day when it before announced that the king was in perfect health, the king was in so dangerous a state that his attendants had thought it necessary to communicate the intelligence to the prime minister; that a council was held accordingly, and that the king was even then

consigned to the care of his physicians and keepers ! Was ever nation so imposed upon as this ? Was ever people so deluded by a press ? Even after the 25th of October, these same vehicles of intelligence informed the people, that the king had been riding out in Windsor Park with several members of his family and several of the nobility and gentry. But, at last, the fact could be denied no longer, and out it came, that the king had not been able to sign the commission for the prorogation of the parliament in June, though every thing had been transacted in his name, orders of council had been issued, and particularly one, for putting up prayers and thanksgivings for an abundant harvest, which order began in these words, "At the court at Windsor, the 17th of October, 1810, *present the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.*"

95. The parliament had been prorogued by the king on the 21st of June. It met again on the 1st of November, in consequence of the king's acknowledged inability to sign the commission for their prorogation. We have seen that, on the 17th of October, the proclamation for the thanksgiving had represented him as present in the council at Windsor. On the same day another proclamation was issued in the same style, for further proroguing the parliament to the 29th of November ; but, in order to give effect to this proclamation, it was necessary that a commission should

be signed for the further prorogation, and that this commission should be signed by the king; but, after the physicians had been called in, as we have before seen, on the 25th of October, it would have been a step a little too bold to put the king's name to the bottom of a commission, which must have been dated after that 25th of October, and before the time of prorogation. Therefore, there could be no commission. The Houses met agreeably to the proclamation, and motions being made in each House, they adjourned to the 15th of November, on which day they re-assembled, and, in both Houses, an adjournment was moved and carried, that adjournment being to the 29th of November. The Houses met again on the 29th of November, and entered into long debates with regard to the state of the king, and with regard to the probability or improbability of his recovery. In the meanwhile, preparations were making by the two hostile parties for a grand struggle, as to which should have the government in its hands in the case of a regency. The party which had the power in their hands, discovered not the smallest desire to give it up. The prince, who was of course to be regent, had continued to live on the usual terms with his party, which was that of the people called Whigs. This party strongly protested against all *limitation of powers*; and that the regent should, at once, be possessed of all the

powers that belonged to the king. The prince, his brothers, and all his party, contended stoutly for the possession of these full powers; but the other party contended for the contrary, and finally they prevailed, owing to the great distrust which the country entertained, and justly entertained, of the Whig faction. The prince and the whole of his brothers signed a protest against any regency that should not give to the prince all the powers of king; but this had very little effect upon the people: indeed, it rather strengthened the hands of Perceval and his party, and tended to enable them finally to effect their purpose. A regency was, therefore, at last established by law for a limited period with limited powers.

96. This act was passed on the 5th of Feb. 1811, and the provisions were as follows: 1. That the Prince of Wales should be regent. 2. That he should sign, "George, Prince Regent, in the name and behalf of his majesty." 3. That his power should cease when the health of the king should be restored. 4. That the acts passed and the orders and appointments made by the regent should remain good, unless countermanded or reversed by the king. 5. That no act of the regent should be valid unless done in the name of the king, and according to the provisions of the act. 6. That the regent should, before he entered on his office, take three oaths; first, an oath of allegiance to the king; second, that he

would faithfully execute the office of regent, according to the provisions of the act ; and third, that he would inviolably maintain and preserve the Protestant religion, which oaths he was to take before the privy council. 7. That he should further, at the time of taking these oaths, make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the declaration of the 30th of Charles II., for *disabling papists from sitting in the Houses of Parliament* ; and should produce to the privy council a certificate that he had taken the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in some one or other of the royal chapels, which certificate should be signed by the person administering the same. 8. That, until the 1st day of February, 1812, he should be restrained from granting peerages, or summoning heirs-apparent, or appointing to titles in abeyance. 9. That he should be restrained from granting offices in reversion, or for a longer period than during his majesty's pleasure, except those which by law are granted for life. 10. That he should not be restrained from granting pensions under the 1st of George the Third, and the 43rd and 45th of George the Third, which relate to certain little matters connected with the sea service and the colonies. 11. That he should not have power to give the royal assent to the repeal of the act for the settlement of the crown, the act of uniformity, or the act of union with Scotland. 12. That, if the regent did not reside in the

kingdom, or, if he married a papist, his power should cease. 13. That the care of the king, and that the appointment of a part of the household, should be vested in the queen. 14. That no officer of the household should make any appointment but during his majesty's pleasure; that a council should be appointed to assist her majesty, of which JOHN Lord ELDON was to be one. 16. That these councillors should take an oath promising to assist her majesty faithfully. 17. That this council should have all the powers relative to the care of the king, and should have power to notify his restoration to health. 18. That, on the king's declaring, by proclamation, his resumption of the royal authority, the powers of the regent should cease. 19. That, in case of the death of her majesty, the care of the king's person should be vested in her council. That the letters patent and of privy seal for the issues of money from the civil lists to her majesty should continue in force. 20. That £60,000l. a year should be issued out of the civil list to the keeper of his majesty's privy purse, part of which sum to be placed at her majesty's disposal, and that the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster should be applied in somewhat the same manner. 21. That the care of the king's real and personal estate and property should be committed to trustees; and that these trustees should be answerable to the queen as well as to the regent, for the keeping of these for the use of his majesty. That

the regent should have power to dispose of the droits of the crown and of the admiralty.

97. Here was a sort of partnership sovereignty established: a sort of probationary royalty in the regent; and it is truly curious, that, in the preamble of this act, the act is ascribed to the king himself, whose exercise of the royal authority the same bill declares not to be in existence. It says, "Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons;" though it says, in the same sentence, that the personal exercise of the royal authority by his majesty is interrupted. At any rate, it was an act passed without the assent of either king or regent. But the great and interesting question was, not whether the act were agreeable to the laws and constitution of the country or not; not whether it was right or wrong thus to defer the full exercise of the royal authority for a year; but *whether, limited as the powers were, the prince, upon being invested with them, would take his old friends and companions, the Whigs, to be his ministers.* This was the great question that agitated the country, and particularly those who belonged to the two political factions. Men in general, unacquainted with the hidden motives that were at work, no more expected that PERCEVAL and ELDON would continue for one moment to be ministers under the regent, than they

expected the end of the world. They saw in these men, the very men who had protected his wife in 1806 and 1807; they saw in these men those who had actually turned out his friends, because they had given her that protection; they saw in these men those who had notoriously made it a point to keep in the back ground not only all his favourites, but himself; and they saw in these men the persons who, when, at last, compelled to put a regency into his hands, had so put it with all the trammels and all the degrading conditions contained and expressed in the Regency Bill just described. How, then, were people in general to imagine that he would retain these men in power for one single moment beyond that the arrival of which would enable him to discard them? They had left him full power to choose his ministers, and, of course, to put all the immense patronage into their hands; and who was to believe that he would choose PERCEVAL and ELDON (and their colleagues) to be the organs of his will and the possessors of all this patronage; and that he could leave his own friends, to whom and to whose political principles he stood so firmly pledged, still bereft of all those powers and emoluments for which they had so long been sighing? Yet, *this he did!* He had protested against the limited regency; he had complained that it would deprive him of the power of doing the good that he sought for the

country ; his brothers had joined him in the complaint ; his friends had protested still more vehemently, and had accused the promoters of the limitation of endeavours to subvert the kingly government : and yet he chose for his ministers the very men who had been the promoters, and, in fact, the doers of all these things so bitterly complained of !

98. But, those who did not look beyond the surface, did not perceive that PERCEVAL and ELDON had still the PRINCESS in their hands ; that they had THE BOOK in their hands : the people did not perceive this, and the Whigs themselves seem to have forgotten it ; for they were all on tip-toe expecting to be called in to supply the place of ELDON and PERCEVAL. Before the passing of the bill, a deputation from the two Houses of Parliament waited upon the prince and upon the queen, describing to each of them the substance of the bill which was intended to be passed. The prince expressed his regret at the restrictions which it was intended to impose, but, nevertheless, accepted the regency on these terms. The queen was all acquiescence, of course ; but now came the great point to be settled ; namely, whether the Tories or the Whigs were to be ministers ; and this point was settled in favour of the former ! The message from the prince to PERCEVAL upon this occasion, is a couple of documents which do not admit

of description or abbreviation ; we must, therefore, have them here at full length. They should be read with great attention, because we shall, by-and-by, be fully enabled to judge of their sincerity and consistency ; and enabled also to penetrate completely into the motives of this decision of the prince, which filled the whole country with surprise, and plunged into despair those seekers after power and emolument who had so long been called his friends.

THE PRINCE REGENT'S LETTER.

Carlton-House, February 4, 1811.

The Prince of Wales considers the moment to be arrived, which calls for his decision with respect to the persons to be employed by him in the administration of the executive government of the country, according to the powers vested in him by the bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament, and now on the point of receiving the sanction of the great seal. The prince feels it incumbent upon him, at this precise juncture, to communicate to Mr. Perceval *his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there, as his majesty's official servants.* At the same time the prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character, which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation placed, *explicitly to declare, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father, leads him to dread that any act of the regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery.*—This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval.—Having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honour, the prince has only to add, that among the many blessings to be derived from his majesty's restoration to health, and to the personal exercise of his royal

functions, it will not, in the prince's estimation, be the case, that that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of *unexampled embarrassment*, and put an end to a *state of affairs* ill calculated, he fears, to sustain the interests of the United Kingdom, in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be *reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution*.

MR. PERCEVAL'S ANSWER.

Downing-Street, February 5, 1811.

Mr. Perceval presents his humble duty to your royal highness, and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your royal highness's letter of last night, which reached him this morning.—Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to express his humble thanks to your royal highness *for the frankness* with which your royal highness has condescended, *explicitly, to communicate the motives* which have induced your royal highness to honour his colleagues and him with your commands for the continuance of their services, in the stations intrusted to them by the king. And Mr. Perceval begs leave to assure your royal highness, that, in the expression of your royal highness's sentiments of filial and loyal attachment to the king, and of anxiety for the speedy restoration of his majesty's health, Mr. Perceval can see nothing but additional *motives* for their most anxious exertions to give satisfaction to your royal highness, in the only manner in which it can be given, by endeavouring to promote your royal highness's views for the security and happiness of the country.—Mr. Perceval has never failed to regret the impression of your royal highness, with regard to the provisions of the regency bill, which his majesty's servants felt it to be their duty to recommend to parliament. But, he ventures to submit to your royal highness, that, *whatever difficulties* the present awful crisis of the country and the world may create in the administration of the executive government, your royal highness will not find them in any degree increased by the temporary suspension of the exercise of those branches of the royal prerogatives which has been introduced by parliament, in conformity to what was in-

tended on a former similar occasion ; and that whatever ministers your royal highness might think proper to employ, would find in that full support and countenance which, as long as they were honoured with your royal highness's commands, they would feel confident they would continue to enjoy, ample and sufficient means to enable your royal highness effectually to maintain the great and important interest of the United Kingdom.—And Mr. Perceval humbly trusts, that, whatever doubts your royal highness may entertain with respect to the constitutional propriety of the measures which have been adopted, your royal highness will feel assured that they could not have been recommended by his majesty's servants, nor sanctioned by parliament, but upon the sincere, though possibly erroneous, conviction, that they in no degree trench upon the true principles and spirit of the constitution.—Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to add, that he holds himself in readiness, at any moment, to wait upon your royal highness, and to receive any commands with which your royal highness may be graciously pleased to honour him.

99. It would be a bold thing to say that dissimulation equal to this never was before witnessed in the world ; but, it is not being at all bold to say, that dissimulation to surpass it never was witnessed, since the use of words was in practice amongst men. The prince's letter to PERCEVAL was clearly intended to make the Whigs believe that he would call them to power as soon as the restrictions on his authority should cease. The expression of the rescuing him from a situation of *unexampled embarrassment* ; and the expression of *state of affairs*, ill calculated to sustain the interests of the kingdom, and not *reconcilable to the principles of the British con-*

stitution, and his telling PERCEVAL that the fear of retarding the progress of the king's recovery, by turning out his chosen servants, was the "consideration which *alone* dictated his determination not to remove them from the places "in which he found them" left by his father: these expressions, together with the protestations of truth and sincerity; and PERCEVAL's thanks for the *frankness* with which the communication had been made to him: these were taken by the public as certain signs that the prince only kept Perceval in for the present; but that he would certainly get rid of him as soon as the year of restraint had expired.

100. So completely successful was this dissimulation, that it appears to have imposed upon the Whig place-hunters themselves. Besides these written communications, however, there were certain overt acts which seemed to forbid every human being to believe that the PRINCE was not eager to get rid of the old ministers; he actually sent for Lords GRENVILLE and GREY, who were the two surviving leaders of the party that had been in power in 1807, and *proposed to them to form a ministry to them*. The other party were actually preparing to quit their offices; and had made the arrangements necessary in the several departments, for delivering the business up to successors. After all this, out came the announcement, all at once, that the ministry

was not to be changed ! The real cause unquestionably was this ; that PERCEVAL and ELDON had the PRINCESS of WALES in their hands ; that they were in possession of the book, and of all its secrets ; that they could have brought out the letter, that never-to-be-forgotten letter, which the reader will find in paragraph 58 of this History ; that they were in possession of the warrant issued by the recommendation of the Whigs, and which will be found in paragraph 66 of this History ; that they were in possession of the report on the conduct of the PRINCESS, to be found in the same paragraph ; that they were in possession of the whole of the documents mentioned in this paragraph from 67 to 79 inclusive ; and that the publication of these documents, the publication of the proof of all the conspiracy, as the PRINCESS of WALES had called it in her letters to the king ; that the publication of the proof of all this, would have filled the English people, with what I will not, what I dare not, describe ; but which, I may safely say, would have inspired feelings with regard to the regent which, according to every principle of human nature, he must have been desirous to prevent the existence of, at the expense of any-thing, no matter what, short of life itself.

101. If he pacified PERCEVAL and ELDON, then this terrible history remained unknown ; and

the PRINCESS would, of course, be kept quietly to vegetate at Kensington Palace and at Blackheath alternately. PERCEVAL and ELDON would have brought her out; they would have contended that she should be called the PRINCESS REGENT; they would have contended that she had not only always been innocent, but that she had been cruelly oppressed and conspired against; they would have contended that she should hold drawing-rooms and have a court; and, let it be observed, they would have had the whole nation with them as with the voice of one man. There was not a woman in the kingdom who would not have reproached her husband, her son, or her brothers, if he had not espoused the cause of PERCEVAL and ELDON in such a case as this. So that the PRINCE was compelled to keep the ministers in their places, or to encounter all the dreadful hostility that they were thus enabled to raise up against him. Whether he really at first intended to change the ministry, one may doubt. The sending for Lords GRENVILLE and GREY to form a ministry might be a mere blind arranged before-hand with PERCEVAL; and the preparations for quitting office on the part of the old ministers might be the same. And, indeed, the very regency bill itself, though protested against so vehemently, might have been a matter arranged beforehand. But, at any rate, if these matters were not all previous arrangement, we

must conclude that PERCEVAL went; at the last moment, with the book in his hand, and that that produced the decision which filled the whole country with surprise.

102. The decision having been taken, and the communication made to the world, the Whig faction put the best face upon the matter that they could. They said, and they published in all sorts of shapes, that the PRINCE had, in keeping in PERCEVAL and his set, been actuated solely by filial affection for his revered father, whose recovery, he was afraid, might have been retarded, if, upon return to the use of his reason, he found his old and faithful servants turned out of his offices; but that if he found at the end of the year that the derangement of the king still continued, then he would put an end to the power of these men, and put his own friends in their places; and that this was the true meaning of his letter to PERCEVAL. To this it was answered, that supposing the KING to return to his reason before the termination of the year, must not his recovery be retarded as effectually, by learning that his son had intended to turn out his servants at the end of the year, as by finding that he had actually turned them out? and supposing the king to return to his reason after the expiration of the year; must not his complete recovery be retarded, must he not be replunged into his dismal situation, upon finding his servants turned out

of office, as effectually as he would have been, if he had found them turned out of office before the end of the year ? A reply to this was impossible ; every man of sense said that there was great dissimulation somewhere, that the true cause of keeping PERCEVAL in power was carefully kept out of sight.

103. Nevertheless the Whig faction, always greedy of gain, always cormorants after the public money, still nourished and cherished the fond hope that, at the end of the year, the prince would take them into power ; and that, as there was every reason to believe that his own power would be of considerable permanence, they should be able at last to fasten themselves upon the public for a generation at least. They, therefore, conjured up all sorts of stories tending to encourage the belief that the month of February, 1812, was to see them in possession of the public purse. Through their newspapers they related that the PRINCE merely tolerated PERCEVAL and ELDON and the rest of the ministers, that he saw them as seldom as possible, and only just for that length of time which was necessary for the signing of papers ; that, at his levees, he turned his back upon them, seemed hardly to know them, while he received Lords GRENVILLE and GREY, and all the persons of that party, in the most cordial manner, shook them by the hand, and as much as said to the whole court, and to the

foreign ambassadors, "*These are the men in whom I confide.*"

104. With stories like these, the nation were amused until the month of January, 1812. In the meanwhile, the other party were not idle. Having prevailed, through the means before-mentioned, over their rivals, so as to keep their places for the year, at any rate, their next business was to keep them after the expiration of the year. There was no reason, there could be no reason, why the *same motive* that made the PRINCE keep them in 1811, should not make him keep them in 1812. Let that motive be what it might. Why not have them for ministers in the one year as well as in the other? They talked of the limitation of his powers. How were his powers limited? He had all the powers of peace and war; the power of choosing his own ministers; the power of appointing or dismissing officers of the army or the navy; all the powers relative to the judiciary; and all the real limitation that there was, related to the making of peers, to the appointment of the officers of the household, to the granting of places in reversion, and to the custody and management of the private property of the king. The limitations were degrading, to be sure; but, as affecting the kingly *power*, they were of no consequence whatever, especially as they were to last for a year. Neither in these limitations,

then, nor in the filial affection of the PRINCE for his father's complete recovery, could any man of sense perceive any ground whatever for postponing the appointment of that Whig ministry which it was affected to believe the prince regarded as necessary to the well-being of the country. But, a very solid reason for not turning out PERCEVAL was found in the power which he had with regard to the PRINCESS and THE BOOK. He had, as has been before observed, the power of bringing her forward, and making her the triumphant rival of her husband. This power he had completely in his hands, backed as he was by the indignant feelings of an enterprising, brave, and injured woman. But, it was necessary for him to do something in order to keep this great and terrific power in his hands. If he lost the princess, he lost his only prop; and, even without losing her, if he lost the book, or, rather, if the secrets of the book escaped and became public, he then lost his power. It was, therefore, of the greatest importance to him, that nobody should possess a copy of this book but *himself*! The reader will please now to turn back to paragraph 79, which he will find in Chapter II. He will there find that Perceval ousted the Whigs by the means of this book, and not by the means of the Catholic question, as the hoodwinked nation were taught to believe. The book had been prepared by PERCEVAL himself:

it had been printed, in a considerable edition, by Mr. Edwards, printer, in the Strand; the whole edition had been put into the hands of a bookseller; the day of publication was named, that being the 9th of March, 1807; but on the 7th of March, or thereabouts, the KING determined upon turning out the Whigs and taking in PERCEVAL. Instantly PERCEVAL suppressed THE BOOK; took the edition out of the hands of the bookseller, thinking that he had every copy in his own possession. The story has been in print about his having burned the books in the courtyard of his country house; but, be this as it may, he certainly appears to have thought that no one but himself had a copy of THE BOOK. In this, however, he was deceived; for several copies of this book, as many as four or five, at least, were in the hands of private individuals. This must have been a source of great trouble to PERCEVAL; for if the book were once published, his power was gone. The PRINCESS he might be able to keep quiet, but the public was a less manageable being. To be sure the publication of the book, he must have been aware, would cover the Whig faction with monstrous odium; but it would at the same time have rendered the PRINCE independent of him. God knows what the effect might have been *at that time*, while NAPOLEON was the master of the greater part of Europe! God knows what

might have been the effect with regard to the stability of the throne itself; but of the effect with regard to the PRINCE in the eyes of the people, no one could doubt. Still, however, a publication of the book at that time would have rendered the PRINCE quite careless as to the friendship of PERCEVAL. To prevent that publication was, therefore, a matter of great consequence with the latter; and accordingly, every possible exertion was made to prevent the possibility of such publication.

105. When a book is put into the hands of a printer, there is required in order to prevent a surplus copy from being printed, or several surplus copies, uncommon vigilance and exaction. In ordinary cases, no such pains are required, because the temptation is not great. In this case, it is probable that every possible precaution was taken; but still, there must have been many compositors into whose hands the manuscript was necessarily put; and there must have been many persons too within whose reach the sheets would come. In short, in spite of all the vigilance that was employed, or that might have been employed, four or five copies of the book, an octavo volume of about 350 pages, got into private hands. To get at these copies advertisements appeared in all the public papers, as soon as the PRINCE had determined to keep PERCEVAL as his minister. These advertisements plainly enough described the con-

tents of the book, and contained offers of high price for the book to such persons as might have a copy to dispose of. In this manner the copies were bought up: one was sold for 300*l.*, one or two for 500*l.* each, one for 1000*l.*, and the last for 1500*l.* As mentioned in paragraph 90, PERCEVAL thought he had destroyed the whole in 1807, but he now thought, at any rate, that he had the whole in his possession that had not been destroyed. The public paid great attention to these curious advertisements; and they wondered, upon learning what the nature of the book was, that the PRINCESS herself should still remain silent. PERCEVAL, however, found the means to amuse her in the manner that the Whigs had been amused by her husband. At present the queen was alive: and therefore there was a queen to hold drawing-rooms, if necessary; and then the PRINCESS CHARLOTTE was growing up, and was heiress-apparent to the throne; and her mother would surely enjoy distinction suited to her rank if she had but patience to wait a little while.

106. Thus was the secret kept locked up in the hands of PERCEVAL and ELDON, and their immediate associates; thus was the PRINCESS amused during the year 1811; and thus were Whigs amused, though more impatient than any party, always looking forward to power and emolument with more greediness than any other; thus, too, were the public amused, not however

without looking forward with uncommon curiosity to see what would take place when the PRINCE should be in possession of what were termed his "*full powers*." The Irish, never the first to discover duplicity practised upon them, looked forward with great anxiety to the arrival of the *full powers*. The PRINCE had always professed his anxiety to see what was called the emancipation of the Catholics. The Whigs had made that a great test of their liberality and justice. The Irish regarded the old king as the great obstacle to their obtaining of that inestimable blessing. They were a little chagrined, indeed, when they found that PERCEVAL and ELDON, who had put out the Whigs upon that very question, were still retained in power by the PRINCE. But, "never mind," they said, "we have only about eleven months to wait till the prince gets his *full powers*; and he will then fulfil his pledges to Ireland." In the meanwhile the PRINCE, having been installed as REGENT, and having taken the oaths according to the act, proceeded on the 12th of February, 1811, to open the parliament, or rather, to commence his legislative functions, by a speech to both Houses, which speech, however, he did not go to deliver in person, but issued a commission for the purpose. The speech was as follows :

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—In execution of the commission which has now been read to you, we are commanded

by his royal highness the Prince Regent to express, in the strongest manner, how deeply he laments, not only in common with all his majesty's loyal subjects, but with a personal and filial affliction, the great national calamity which has been the occasion of imposing upon his royal highness the duty of exercising, in his majesty's name, the royal authority of this kingdom.—In conveying to you the sense which his royal highness entertains of the great difficulties attending the important trust which is reposed in him, his royal highness commands us to assure you, that he looks with the most perfect confidence to the wisdom and zeal of parliament, and to the attachment of a loyal and affectionate people, for the most effectual assistance and support; and his royal highness will, on his part, exert his utmost endeavours to direct the powers with which he is invested to the advancement of the prosperity, welfare, and security of his majesty's dominions.—We are directed to inform you, that his royal highness has great satisfaction in being enabled to state, that fresh opportunities have been afforded, during the late campaign, for distinguishing the valour and skill of his majesty's forces both by sea and land.—The capture of the islands of Bourbon and of Amboyna have still farther reduced the colonial dependencies of the enemy.—The attack upon the island of Sicily, which was announced to the world with a presumptuous anticipation of success, has been repulsed by the persevering exertions and valour of his majesty's land and sea forces.—The judicious arrangement adopted by the officers commanding on that station derived material support from the zeal and ardour which were manifested during this contest by the inhabitants of Sicily, and from the co-operation of the naval means which were directed by his Sicilian majesty to this object.—In Portugal, and at Cadiz, the defence of which constituted the principal object of his majesty's exertions in the last campaign, the designs of the enemy have been hitherto frustrated. The consummate skill, prudence, and perseverance of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, and the discipline and determined bravery of the officers and men under his command, have been conspicuously displayed throughout the

whole of the campaign. The effect of those distinguished qualities, in inspiring confidence and energy into the troops of his majesty's allies, has been happily evinced by their general good conduct, and particularly by the brilliant part which they bore in the repulse of the enemy at Busaco. And his royal highness commands us further to state, that he trusts you will enable him to continue the most effectual assistance to the brave nations of the Peninsula, in the support of a contest which they manifest a determination to maintain with unabated perseverance; and his royal highness is persuaded, that you will feel that the best interests of the British empire must be deeply affected in the issue of this contest, on which the liberties and independence of the Spanish and Portuguese nations entirely depend.—We have it likewise in command to acquaint you, that discussions are now depending between this country and the United States of America; and that it is the earnest wish of his royal highness that he may find himself enabled to bring these discussions to an amicable termination, consistent with the honour of his majesty's crown, and the maritime rights and interests of the United Kingdom.—

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—We are directed to acquaint you, that his royal highness the Prince Regent has given his commands that the estimates for the expenditure of the current year should be laid before you; and his royal highness has great satisfaction in acquainting you, that although the difficulties under which the commerce of this kingdom has laboured, have in some degree affected a part of his majesty's revenue, particularly in Ireland, yet that the revenue of Great Britain in the last year, though unaided by any new taxation, is greater than was ever known in any preceding year. And his royal highness trusts to your zeal and liberality to afford his majesty adequate supplies for the support of the great contest in which he is necessarily engaged.—

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—We are commanded by his royal highness to declare to you, that it is the most anxious wish of his heart, that he may be enabled to restore unimpaired into the hands of his majesty the government of his kingdom; and that his royal highness earnestly prays that the

Almighty may be pleased in his mercy to accelerate the termination of a calamity so deeply lamented by the whole nation, and so peculiarly afflicting to his royal highness himself.

107. It was hard for any one to discover in this speech any-thing at all encouraging to the Whig faction. Here are praises on the proceedings in the navy and the army; also boasting of the flourishing state of the finances; and a determination expressed to pursue the policy which the men in power have been pursuing for a long while; yet, on the mere mention of the prince's anxious desire to be enabled to replace the authority in the hands of his father, did the hungry Whigs and their partisans build a hope, and proclaim the confident expectation, indeed, that the PRINCE detested his ministers, and sighed for the moment when he should be able to get out of their hands, though that same moment would take from him the whole of the kingly powers for an indefinite length of time, and perhaps for ever! Even the slender circumstance of the speech having been made by commission instead of having been made in person was seized hold of as a proof, and a strong proof, that the prince abhorred his ministers; and it was actually asserted most industriously through all the prints of the Whigs, that he never would *disgrace his lips* by uttering a speech written by such ministers.

108. Thus, with regard to the political parties and intrigues, things went on until the month of

January, 1812. We shall, by-and-by, have to observe upon the events of the war during this year, and upon the other measures deeply affecting the country; but we must first pursue this grand party-intrigue to its upshot. In the month of January, 1812, rumours began to be afloat respecting the intentions of the PRINCE with regard to his ministers. Until now all had been confident expectation on the part of the Whigs, who had, during the ten or eleven preceding months, looked upon themselves as the real possessors of the places and pensions: and only kept out of the apparent possession merely to indulge the excessive and admirable filial feelings of the PRINCE, and that too for a short space of time. But the time was now at hand when they were to be undeceived. During the past year, the Marquess of WELLESLEY, who was secretary of state for foreign affairs, had, the public were told, tendered his resignation, and that the PRINCE had desired him to keep the seals of office till the expiration of the restrictions. This was regarded as conclusive in favour of the expected change, and the Whigs at their gambling-houses had a sort of general carouse in anticipation of their triumph. On the 13th of February, however, 1812, during a debate relating to the then dispute with America, a Whig member having let fall some expressions predicting a speedy destruction of the ministers' power, PER-

CEVAL answered that "the golden dreams of his opponents would, he imagined, end by producing the mortification usually attendant on all such dreams." This was an ominous sign. It threw the whole party into consternation. They rallied again on the 15th, and went so far as to tell the public that Mr. Perceval had explained away his words. On the 17th, however, the whole town began to perceive that the ministers were to retain their places. Still there was a story about overtures to Lords GREY and GRENVILLE; and the public were in a state of uncertainty as to the real facts till the 19th, when, in the following letters, the one from the PRINCE to the Duke of YORK, and the answer through the duke from Lords GREY and GRENVILLE, came forth, and pronounced the doom of the unfortunate Whigs.

The Prince's Letter to the Duke of York, relative to the Ministry, dated Carlton-House, 13th Feb. 1812.

My dearest Brother,

As the restrictions on the exercise of the royal authority will shortly expire, when I must make my arrangements for the future administration of the powers with which I am invested,

I think it right to communicate to you those sentiments which I was withheld from expressing at an early period of the session, by my earnest desire that the expected motion on the affairs of Ireland might undergo the deliberate discussion of parliament, unmixed with any other consideration.

I think it hardly necessary to call your recollection to the recent circumstances under which I assumed the authority delegated to me by parliament. At a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger, I was called upon to make a selection of persons to whom I should intrust the functions of the executive government.

My sense of duty to our royal father solely decided that choice, and every private feeling gave way to considerations which admitted of no doubt or hesitation. I trust I acted in that respect as the genuine representative of the august person whose functions I was appointed to discharge ; and I have the satisfaction of knowing, that such was the opinion of persons for whose judgment and honourable principles I entertain the highest respect.

In various instances, as you well know, where the law of the last session left me at full liberty, I have waved my personal gratification, in order that his majesty might resume, on his restoration to health, every power and prerogative belonging to his crown. I certainly am the last person in

the kingdom to whom it can be permitted to despair of our royal father's recovery.

A new æra is now arrived, and I cannot but reflect with *satisfaction on the events* which have distinguished the short period of my restricted regency. Instead of suffering in the loss of any of her possessions, by the gigantic force which has been employed against them, Great Britain has added most important acquisitions to her empire; the national faith has been preserved inviolate towards our allies; and if character is strength applied to a nation, the *increased and increasing reputation of his majesty's arms* will show to the nations of the continent how much they may still achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke. In the critical situation of the war in the Peninsula, I shall be most anxious to avoid every measure which can lead my allies to suppose *that I mean to depart from the present system*. Perseverance alone can achieve the great object in question, and *I cannot withhold my approbation* from those who have *honourably distinguished* themselves in support of it. I have no *predilections* to indulge, no *resentments* to gratify, no objects to attain, but such as are common to the whole empire. If such is the leading principle of my conduct, and I can appeal to the past as the evidence of what the future will be, I flatter myself I shall meet with *the support of*

parliament, and of a candid and enlightened nation.

Having made this communication of my sentiments, in this new and extraordinary crisis of our affairs, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I should feel, if *some of those persons* with whom the *early habits of my public life* were formed, would strengthen my hands, and constitute *a part* of my government. With such support, and aided by a vigorous and *united* administration, formed on the most liberal basis, I shall look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain was ever engaged.

You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to Lord Grey, who, I have no doubt, will make them known to Lord Grenville.

I am always, my dearest Frederick,
Your affectionate Brother,
GEORGE, P. R.

P.S.—I shall send a copy of this letter immediately to Mr. Perceval.

*Answer of Lords Grey and Grenville to the
Duke of York, dated 15th Feb. 1812.*

Sir,—We beg leave most humbly to express to your royal highness our dutiful acknowledg-

ments for the gracious and condescending manner in which you have had the goodness to communicate to us the letter of his royal highness the Prince Regent, on the subject of the arrangements to be now made for the future administration of the public affairs; and we take the liberty of availing ourselves of your gracious permission to address to your royal highness in this form what has occurred to us in consequence of that communication. The Prince Regent, after expressing to your royal highness in that letter his sentiments on various public matters, has, in the concluding paragraph, condescended to intimate his wish that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his royal highness's hands, and constitute a part of his government, and his royal highness is pleased to add, that with such support, aided by a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis, he would look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain has ever been engaged. On the other parts of his royal highness's letter we do not presume to offer any observations; but in the concluding paragraph, in so far as we may venture to suppose ourselves included in the gracious wish which it expresses, we owe it, in obedience and duty to his royal highness, to explain ourselves with frankness and sincerity. We beg

leave most earnestly to assure his royal highness, that no sacrifices but those of honour and duty could appear to us too great to be made, for the purpose of healing the divisions of the country, and uniting both its government and its people. All personal exclusion we entirely disclaim; we rest on public measures; and it is on this ground alone that we must express without reserve the impossibility of our being united with the present government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such an union. His royal highness will, we are confident, do us the justice to remember that we have twice already acted upon this impression; in 1809, on the proposition then made to us under his majesty's authority; and last year, when his royal highness was pleased to require our advice respecting the formation of a new government. The reasons which we then humbly submitted to him are strengthened by the increasing danger of the times; nor has there, down to this moment, appeared even any approximation towards such an agreement of opinion on the public interest as can alone form a basis for the honourable union of parties previously opposed to each other. Into the detail of those differences we are unwilling to enter; they embrace almost all the leading features of the present policy of the empire; but his royal highness has, himself, been pleased to advert to

the late deliberations of parliament on the affairs of Ireland. This is a subject, above all others, important in itself, and connected with the most pressing dangers. Far from concurring in the sentiments which his majesty's ministers have, on that occasion, so recently expressed, we entertain opinions directly opposite: we are firmly persuaded of the necessity of a total change in the present system of that country, and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which so large a portion of his majesty's subjects still labour on account of their religious opinions. To recommend to parliament this repeal, is the first advice which it would be our duty to offer to his royal highness, nor could we, even for the shortest time, make ourselves responsible for any further delay in the prospect of a measure, without which we could entertain no hope of rendering ourselves useful to his royal highness or to the country. We have only further to beg your royal highness to lay before his royal highness the Prince Regent, the expression of our humble duty, and the sincere and respectful assurance of our earnest wishes for whatever may best promote the ease, honour, and advantage of his royal highness's government, and the success of his endeavours for the public welfare.

We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

GREY.—GRENVILLE..

109. Every one saw that the Whigs were thus excluded, let what else might happen, for the remainder of the life of the PRINCE, whether as REGENT or KING, unless, indeed, they should choose to call in the people, by the means of a reform of the Commons House of Parliament; and this they were then told; of this they were then warned; this warning they did not take, and the consequence was that they had to undergo exclusion to the end of this prince's life.

110. In February, 1811, the pretended reason for keeping PERCEVAL and his colleagues in power, was, that by dispossessing them of that power, the prince might possibly risk the prevention of a complete recovery of his father, if he should happen to be restored to reason, and find his favourite servants discharged. That pretence could avail no longer; the season for making that pretence was now passed; now the king's malady had become confirmed; now, therefore, another pretence was necessary; that pretence, is, as stated in the letter to the DUKE OF YORK, that, in so critical a situation of the war, the PRINCE fears that turning out his ministers may lead his allies to suppose that he means to "*depart from the present system of upholding his alliance, and carrying on the war.*" That is to say, he is afraid to turn out PERCEVAL, ELDON, and their colleagues, lest his allies on the continent should suspect that he has ceased his

desire to aid them in the war in the manner that they have been aided, while he has been guided by the councils of these ministers. Never was pretence so bald and so barefaced as this. Just as if his new ministers could not have declared their readiness to carry on the war with as much vigour as the old ones ! Just as if Lord GRENVILLE, who would naturally have been the new prime minister, had not carried on the war in conjunction with PITT and DUNDAS ; and just as if he and Lord GREY had not carried on the war with renewed vigour when they became ministers in 1806 ! Just as if the making of these men his ministers, and Lord GRENVILLE especially, who was one of the great authors of the war itself, and who had signalized himself by the haughty and insolent state-paper, in which he rejected the proposition of the FIRST CONSUL to treat for peace ; just as if the appointment of these men to office, instead of keeping in PERCEVAL, would have made the allies suspect his warlike propensities and thereby have broken up or weakened the alliances !

111. But, look at the cool insult offered to Lord GREY, and, through him, to Lord GRENVILLE, in the last paragraph but one, in the prince's letter to the DUKE of YORK. In the foregoing paragraph, the PRINCE expresses his determination not to turn out his ministers, for the reasons there alleged. Then follows this

paragraph, which drops in almost incidentally, in which he expresses a wish that "*some* of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his hands and constitute *a part* of his government." This letter he authorizes the duke to communicate to Lord GREY, and says that he has *no doubt* that he will communicate the contents of it to Lord GRENVILLE. Never was insult so great as this before offered to mortal man. These two lords are told that they may come, if they will, and serve in some capacity or other, under PERCEVAL and Lord ELDON! The answer of the two lords is anything but dignified. Indeed, the dignified course would have been to give no answer at all. Such a letter, addressed to men worthy of being ministers, and standing in the situation in which these two lords stood, should have received no answer; or, at the most, should have been sent back with a few words, intimating to the duke that he must certainly have made a mistake with regard to the persons to whom he had sent his letter. Be this as it may, however, most bitter were the reproaches which the Whigs bestowed on the prince, to whom they ascribed almost every quality that men in general are anxious to be thought not to possess; and, in short, he who had for so many years been the object of their fawning flatteries, now became

an object of their incessant sarcasm, ridicule, and abuse.

112. Had the Whigs been *popular*, the nation, who could not fail to have been shocked at the proceedings attending the retaining of PERCEVAL in power, would have openly sided with them; and, in that case, PERCEVAL would have found himself greatly embarrassed. But, the Whigs had, while in power, in 1806 and 1807, rendered themselves so odious to the people that their present humiliation seemed to give general satisfaction. They had, for more than twenty years, during which time they had been out of office, been professing their hostility to PITT's wastefulness in the public expenditure, and to all his numerous encroachments on the liberties of the people. They had been preaching economy, and inveighing against the taxes; and, above all things, they had been demanding a reform of the parliament. They began their ministerial career by an act the most shameful, the most barefaced, the most flagrantly profligate, and containing in it the greatest insult that had ever been offered to public opinion, in any country calling itself free. Lord GRENVILLE was, as has been before observed, the prime minister of this Whig ministry; he was, as has been the custom for a long time, the *first lord of the Treasury*; but, here arose a difficulty; for, he was already

auditor of the Exchequer for life, which office purports or pretends to be the post of the officer who is to examine and *check* the accounts of the first lord of the Treasury. To unite the two offices ; to set a man to audit ; that is to say, to examine and check, his own accounts ; this seemed to be a thing impossible ; it seemed to be what the poet calls

“To solder close impossibilities

“ And make them kiss.”

That, however which was clearly impossible with all the rest of mankind ; that which had never existed before, except in the imagination of that poet who had conjured up ghosts and witches to aid him in carrying on his dramatic designs ; that which seemed a thing so monstrous as not to be suffered to exist in real life ; that thing the Whig faction found the means of accomplishing.

113. The office of auditor of the Exchequer, though a perfect sinecure in the person of the auditor, had been in the hands of Lord GRENVILLE for about twenty years. In the accounts since laid before parliament, the income of this office is stated at four thousand pounds a year ; so that, at the time when Lord GRENVILLE became prime minister, he had drawn from the public purse about eighty thousand pounds on account of this sinecure alone ; besides having been a secretary of state or speaker of the House of Commons about eighteen years of that time ;

and having, on account of those offices, drawn about six thousand pounds a year. The nation thought that something nearly approaching to two hundred thousand pounds might have satisfied a man for twenty years of services ; but still he wanted to retain the office of auditor of the Exchequer, though now become first lord of the Treasury. To enable him to do this was against all rule, as well as against all reason ; it was against all precedent ; and, therefore, an act of parliament for this express purpose was resorted to : and, as if to make the manner of doing the thing as odious as the matter was offensive to the nation, this act was brought into the House of Commons by CHARLES FOX himself, who had oftentimes reproached this Lord GRENVILLE with having been one of the chief instruments in the producing and in the prolonging of that war which had brought such hardships upon the people, and the country into such danger. This was the first act of the Whig administration ; the second was the bringing into England from Hanover a body of troops to serve in England and Ireland while English and Irish soldiers were employed in fighting the battles of Germany abroad. There was already a body of such troops serving in these countries : when PITT introduced them, the Whigs reproached him with breach of the constitution, and with sinister designs as to the liberties of the country ; but having grasped hold

of power themselves, they lost scarcely a month before they added to the number of those troops. At that time the tax on income, or property, which tax the Whigs had opposed as to its very principle ; they had over and over again protested against it ; had declared it to be a confiscation of men's estates ; had called it a tax levied by force like the contributions of a highwayman ; had loaded it with every epithet calculated to excite resentment against those by whom it was imposed and upheld : this tax they found at *six and a quarter per cent.* upon men's incomes ; and, instead of abolishing it, instead of lowering it, they at once raised it from six and a quarter to *ten per cent.*! The manner was here, again, full as offensive as the matter ; for, Fox, in speaking in support of the measure, insisted solely upon the necessity of it, and added, that people must do as they could ; if they were compelled to move from the first floor to the second, and found themselves unable to remain even there, they must go from the second floor to the garret. In such a case as this the writer of history can have no authority, except in rare cases, other than the reports published by newspaper reporters. I do not, therefore, pledge myself for the perfect correctness of this saying of Mr. Fox ; but I pledge myself for its substance, and for the general discontent and disgust that it excited. The chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord HENRY PETTY, now

Marquess of Lansdowne, had, like all his predecessors, and all his successors, a new scheme of finance; and a report was laid upon the table of the house in a large volume describing this scheme, of which it is necessary only to say that it proposed to pay off the whole of the national debt in the course of comparatively few years, the projector taking the precaution that the debt should not be extinguished *too soon* nor *too suddenly*! The mirth and contempt excited by this species of imbecility were soon, however, supplanted by a general alarm at the project of taxation which this chancellor had prepared. Two projected taxes particularly gave great offence, and, indeed, roused the resentment of the country: the one was a tax on pig iron, and the other a tax on home-brewed beer. Thus men saw the exciseman coming, at last, to superintend the iron furnaces, and to put their gauging rules into the barrels in the cellars of private houses. People exclaimed, parodying the words of Scripture, that the little finger of the Whigs was heavier than the loins of the Tories! The war, for undertaking and persevering in which they had condemned PITT in the most vociferous manner, from 1793 to the year 1801; and for renewing which they had reproached ADDINGTON, in 1803, which renewal they denominated by every term expressive of breach of faith and of perfidy; that war, after a pretended attempt to put an end

to it, which attempt was a mere blind, they carried on with more expense and extravagance than ever ; they found England at peace with the King of Prussia, with whom they went to war solely on the ground that he had committed an act of aggression on *Hanover* ; and, upon that occasion, the prime minister, who spoke for the rest, of course, said that Hanover ought to be considered as dear to us as Hampshire. They granted more pensions without public services, during the fifteen months that they were in power, than had ever been granted at any former period in a like space of time. Keeping in mind their former professions, they were approached with complaints of abuses which the people hoped that they should now have redressed. These applications, however respectful and humble, they received with more contumely than their predecessors had ever exhibited on similar former occasions ; and, finally, not to dwell longer on the enumeration of their offences, they bore themselves towards the people with a loftiness, a haughtiness, with disdain and with insolence such as had never been beheld in any ministry that had gone before them. As to *parliamentary reform*, not a word escaped them on the subject ; and, if spoken of by any independent member of parliament, or any-body else, they treated it with that derision with which men treat the words of an idiot.

114. So that when they were turned out of office, hypocritical as the pretence for turning them out was, foul as were the motives of their rivals, and well as all these were understood by every man of sense in the kingdom, their expulsion from office was a day of jubilee to all England: those who were deluded by the cry of "*no popery*," rejoiced at an imaginary escape from a return of the fires in Smithfield; and those who had too much sense to be thus deluded, rejoiced at the mortification inflicted on hypocrisy, perfidy, and insolence, such as few men in the world had ever before witnessed.

115. For these reasons, the return of PERCEVAL and his colleagues to power, may be said to have been hailed as a blessing by the nation in general, and by the parliamentary reformers in particular, who saw clearly, that as long as the Whigs retained their power in the then state of things, there was not the smallest hope of any reform at all, much less of such a reform as would hold out to the people any fair expectation of a redress of their manifold grievances. They knew, indeed, that PERCEVAL and his party were full as much opposed to reform as the Whigs; but they also knew that the Whigs, as soon as they were turned out of power, would return into the ranks of reform, and with this assurance in their minds, that, without a reform of the parliament, by which they would place the people at their back, they never would enter the paradise of power

again. So that the joy was general when they were chased from that paradise, the wide world before them, and reform for their only hope.

116. Having thus brought the history of the party intrigues, the history of these two celebrated factions, down to the month of February, 1812, we must now step back a little, and take a look at those money affairs, the management of which, during the career of PERCEVAL, laid the foundation of all those changes, all those troubles, all those important events, which have taken place since the year 1810. The restriction, as it was called, on the Bank of England, but which was, in reality, a stoppage of the bank, which took place in the month of February, 1796, had made paper money, that is to say bank-notes, the legal tender of the country; its sole medium of exchange; its sole measure of value. The history of the reign of GEORGE the THIRD, up to the time of the commencement of the regency, will be found to contain a detail of all the contrivances by which the circulation of gold was supplanted by that of paper money; the detail of all the acts of parliament; of all those numerous financial tricks by which the country was drained of its gold, and by which its money-affairs were kept going without any real measure of value. But, in the year 1810, PERCEVAL being minister, first lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the

Exchequer, and VANSITTART being his secretary of the Treasury, the Whigs, joined by CANNING, HUSKISSON, and some others of the PITT party whom PERCEVAL had kept out of power on account of their evident desire to supplant him; the Whigs, thus joined by these disaffected Tories, made and carried a motion for the appointment of a committee to make inquiry into the causes of the depreciation of the paper-money, compared with *bullion*. That is to say, to inquire into the causes why a one-pound note would sell in the market for no more than about fourteen shillings in silver of due weight and fineness; or, to state in the other way, why a guinea in gold would sell for seven-and-twenty shillings, which was actually the case when this committee of the House of Commons was moved for and appointed. We must bear in mind, that this committee was called the BULLION COMMITTEE; because, as we shall see further on, it was this committee that laid the foundation of a series of measures, producing, at several stages of the twenty years which have since elapsed, greater confusion in the affairs of the civilized world, greater fluctuation in the nominal value of property of every description, more transfers of property from hand to hand, a greater and more sudden change in men's fortunes, a greater degree of injustice and suffering, than ever was before produced by any power, whether of kings, of emperors, of legis-

lative bodies, of general councils ; and whether producing war, pestilence, or famine, as its ultimate effects.

117. The paper-money having depreciated in the degree before described, and the coin of the realm having, of course, disappeared, it came into the minds of this bullion committee, who chose one THOMAS HORNER, a Scotch lawyer and an Edinburgh reviewer, as their chairman ; it came into the heads of this committee, of which CANNING and HUSKISSON were two, to make, in the spring of the year 1810, a report to the house, recommending that the Bank of England should be compelled by law to resume its payments in specie, according to the terms of its charter ; that is to say that it should be compelled, at the end of two years from the date of the act which it proposed to be passed, to pay its notes on demand in the current coin of the realm. This report was made to the house, as I have observed before, in 1810 ; but it did not come on to be discussed until the winter of 1811, when there took place that which will be remembered during the lives of those who were alive at that time and acting on the scene ; but which, if related to posterity, will hardly be deemed to be possible. PERCEVAL and his party contended against the passing of the proposed act. Well they might ; for to execute the act would have been absolutely impossible without putting a

stop to the war, which was still going on at a rate more expensive than ever, and without, moreover, plunging the whole kingdom into confusion ; but, their objection was founded on an assertion of the most impudent falsehood that ever was attempted to be imposed upon any portion of mankind. PERCEVAL and his party contended that the paper-money had not depreciated ; but that it was the gold that had *risen in price* ! After many days of debating upon the subject, VANSITTART proposed a resolution to the house, which was this : “That the promissory notes of the said company [Bank of England] have hitherto been, and *are*, at this time, *held in public estimation to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm*, and generally accepted as such in all pecuniary transactions to which such coin is legally applicable.” Our children will hardly believe that a legislative assembly, all bound by oath to do their duty to his majesty and the people, could be brought to adopt this resolution, in the face of a report of their own house, founded on the evidence of numerous merchants, bankers, and traders, that a guinea would sell for seven-and-twenty shillings in bank notes ; and that, of course, it required a one-pound note and seven shillings in silver to purchase a guinea in gold. Yet did this house, consisting of six hundred and fifty-eight members, actually pass this resolution by a majority of three to one ; though it was

notorious that agents of the government itself were, at that very moment, purchasing guineas at seven-and-twenty shillings in paper, in order to be sent to the English armies and fleets serving abroad. Our children will hardly believe this, unless there were the records of this house to refer to ; and if by any accident they should be destroyed, the fire that consumes them will produce a conflagration to be hailed with delight by all those who have a regard for the honour of England.

118. The proposition of the bullion committee was, indeed, free from the charge of impudent falsehood ; but of its folly it would be very difficult to produce an equal amongst all the wild schemes of hasty and shallow-minded men. The exportation of the precious metals which had been produced by substituting paper for gold and silver, had sent that large proportion of the whole of the specie of the civilized world ; had sent that large share, which always must belong to a country so abundant in valuable things as England is ; had sent that large share to be distributed amongst the other nations of the world. This caused prices to rise in all those other countries ; but, the rise was still greater in England herself, because the paper cost nothing, and because there was not, and could not be, any check on the increase of its quantity. This rise in the price of commodities of every description,

and also in the price of real property, had produced an outrageous violation of contracts for time of every description. A farm, mortgaged twenty years before for a thousand pounds, had now to pay in reality the interest of little better than half the sum. It had produced a virtual violation of testaments, of marriage settlements, of grants of annuities, and in short of every contract for time, be the nature of it what it might.

119. The bullion committee, with a very dull man at its head, and with not a member belonging to it of any profundity, wishing to put an end to this progress of depreciation of the paper, thought they had found out the remedy in their proposition to compel the bank to return to a payment of its notes in gold. But this committee did not reflect that, if this measure were adopted, a violation of contracts on the other side would take place; they did not recollect the wills that had been made, the mortgages entered into, the marriage settlements made, the annuities granted, the leases for various terms entered into; they did not recollect the number of these which must have taken place since the work of depreciation had begun; they did not recollect that if the lenders had been robbed before, the borrower would be robbed now; and that, though it is at all times unjust to rob either lender or borrower, it is a thousand times more dangerous to a state, a thousand times more injurious to the commu-

nity at large, to do wrong to the borrower than it is to do wrong to the lender ; because the borrower is of necessity the poorer of the two ; and, for the more important reason, that the industry and activity of the country are to proceed from the borrower and not from the lender.

120. But, above all things, the members of this committee forgot, or had not the powers of mind duly to estimate, the vast consequence, the great, the terrible consequence of compelling a nation to pay in gold of full tale and full weight and fineness, sums enormous which it had borrowed in depreciated paper. From the time when the paper began to depreciate, to the time when the bullion committee proposed that the bank should be compelled to pay its notes in gold, more than FIVE HUNDRED MILLIONS of pounds sterling of the debt had been contracted : that is to say, the parliament had borrowed more than five hundred millions in depreciated paper, which the bullion committee now proposed that the nation should be compelled to pay in gold of full weight and fineness. And, we are here to observe, that the difference between fourteen and twenty, as stated by the bullion committee, was not the real difference between the value of the paper and that of the gold. Gold having been driven out of the circulation of the country, there was, in fact, no measure of value for it as compared with the paper ; there was no standard of value left in the country ;

there was no market price of gold ; because there was no deposit to which the people could go to demand gold in exchange for the paper. Guineas were sold, it is true ; but the seller sold with all the disadvantages attending an application of the commodity, with regard to which application he understood nothing. The guinea, when purchased, was exported ; and, of course, the profit and risk of the exporter must be considered as added to the price of the commodity ; so that, there being no standard in either gold or silver whereby to ascertain the amount of the depreciation of the paper, another standard must be sought, and the best and truest that presents itself is the bushel of wheat, with regard to which the fact is, that, on an average of years the bushel of wheat, after the depreciation of the paper began, down to the time of the report of the bullion committee, had been more than double the price at which that commodity had sold on an average of years, during an equal number of years preceding the commencement of the depreciation.

121. Therefore, to compel the nation to pay in gold the interest of sums borrowed in paper, must have been ruinous to all the active classes of society ; to all, indeed, but the lenders of money. So far as the rejection of this proposition went, the ministers acted wisely ; and, let it be observed, in passing, that this was a *Whig proposition* ; that HORNER was a creature of the GRENVILLES ;

that he was an *Edinburgh Reviewer*; that his project was supported by the whole body of the Whigs; and that, thus, it was they who laid the foundation of all the confusion and all the terrible ruin, in the pecuniary affairs of the nation, which have taken place between that day and this; these words being put upon the paper in June, 1831. The discussions of which I have been speaking took place in the session of 1811, and the RESOLUTION above cited was passed on the 3rd of May in that year, three months after the Prince Regent chose PERCEVAL and his colleagues, and rejected the Whigs. But, in spite of this consoling resolution, the depreciation of the paper being found to go rapidly on, people began to make *two prices*, one price for gold and another price for paper. Landlords, in divers instances, seeing that the progress of the depreciation would soon rob them of the whole of their rents, began to make specific contracts to prevent their estates arriving at this point. In order to secure himself against a total loss of his rents, Lord KING, a baron of the House of Peers, demanded of his tenants payment of his rents in gold; but at the same time made the demand in so equitable a manner as to leave those tenants no just cause of complaint. I have observed before, that there was in reality no standard of value; but Lord KING, taking the market price of gold as his standard, first ascertained, by looking

back at the regular records, how much paper a guinea was worth, at the time the lease was granted; he then examined into the fact of how much paper a guinea was worth at the time of the payment of the rent; and, according to that standard he demanded payment; or, if that were refused, he demanded payment in gold in full tale, and of full weight and fineness. This, the law, as it then stood, enabled him to do; because, though the law sanctioned, in effect, the payment of debts in general, in bank notes, it did not, as yet, go the length of compelling a creditor to accept of payment in that way. It prevented him from proceeding to recover the debt by mesne process, and gave other indulgences to the debtor; but it had not yet taken from the landlord the power of distraint, in case of non-payment of rent.

122. It was easy to perceive that the example of Lord KING would be speedily and generally followed by the land-owners; for they were greatly suffering in their incomes from the depreciation of the paper money. The minister saw on the other hand, that a demand of gold payments on the part of the landlords would soon produce two prices openly in all the pecuniary transactions of life; they saw that gold would become the medium of those transactions between man and man; that the taxes would be paid in paper-money, according to the law, as it then stood;

and that, as the paper would then continue to depreciate at a still greater rate, the government must go to pieces for want of means to carry it on, and this, too, at a time when the expenditure was perfectly enormous on account of the war. Nothing could prevent these consequences, but the passing of a new law; and, therefore, in the month of June, a law was brought in, and it was passed on the 11th of July of this same year, 1811. This law set out with making it a misdemeanor, punishable by *fine and imprisonment*, and, if in Scotland, by *transportation*, for any person to exchange the current gold coin for more than its nominal value in bank notes, or to exchange bank notes for less than their nominal value in the current gold coin; and it then enabled tenants to refuse to pay their landlords in gold; and, in case of distraint, to replevy the goods taken in distress, after tendering the landlord payment in bank notes! Thus, on the 3rd of May, 1811, these 658 representatives of the people passed a resolution declaring that bank notes were at that time in public estimation held to be equivalent, or equal in value, to the current coin of the realm; and, on the 24th of July, in that same year, 1811; that is to say, in sixty-two days after the passing of the resolution, that very same 658 representatives passed a law to fine, imprison, and in some cases, transport, any man who, in any pecuniary transaction, should given

a preference to the gold before the paper! and (hear it our children, and restrain your indignation, if you can!) the man, NICHOLAS VANSITTART, who proposed both the resolution and the law, has since been made a peer of the realm, under the title of the BARON of BEXLEY!

123. I shall here leave this affair of the paper-money at present; not however without beseeching the reader to let it remain deeply imprinted on his mind, because he will have to recur to this transaction, as to the root of those numerous legislative proceedings which have related and which relate to the currency of the country, which have produced so much distress and so much confusion, and which, of all the causes which have been at work, has been the most conspicuous and the most powerful in the producing of those great changes in the beginning of which we are now living in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one.

124. Thus PERCEVAL really ruled the country in precisely what manner he pleased. He was the master of all the classes in the country. The Whigs had the confidence of nobody; nobody could indulge expectations of any good arising from a change of men in power; the danger from BUONAPARTE and the French nation became daily greater and greater; and people of property, deeming things in a very uncertain state, still clung to the government, apparently totally

regardless of what were, or might be, its deeds, or their consequences. Lord ELLENBOROUGH, who had been a cabinet minister, along with the Whigs, but who, pretty much regardless of party connexions, was a stickler, and armed at all points for the defence of those who wielded the powers of the state; ELLENBOROUGH was lord chief-justice of the Court of King's Bench; GIBBS was attorney-general; whole troops of victims to the libel law were crammed into jails, the corrupt part of the press was more audacious than ever, and the other part of it (never very considerable) was reduced nearly to silence. But human enjoyments of every description are of uncertain duration: political power, when founded on force, is of a nature still more mutable than human enjoyments in general; of which observations this haughty and insolent PERCEVAL was destined, in the spring of 1812, to afford to the world a striking, a memorable, and a most awful example. He had gotten possession of the highest office in the state; by *his secret*, relative to the PRINCESS and her BOOK, he had secured his influence with the PRINCE REGENT for their joint lives; he had bent the proud necks of the landlords to fine, imprisonment or transportation, if they attempted to make inroads on his system to support the all-corrupting paper-money; the press he had extinguished, or had rendered the tool of his absolute will; the most eminent amongst

the writers who opposed him, COBBETT (the author of this History), LEIGH and JOHN HUNT, FINNERTY, DRAKARD, LOVEL, together with many more, were closely shut up in jail, for long terms, with heavy fines on their heads, and long bail at the termination of their imprisonment. Not content with all this, he meditated the complete subjugation of London to the control and command of a military force. Not only did he meditate this, but had the audacity to propose it to the parliament; and, if his life had not been taken in the evening of 11th of May, 1812, he, that very evening was going to propose, in due form, a resolution for the establishment of a permanent army, to be stationed in Marybonne Park, for the openly-avowed purpose of *keeping the metropolis in awe*.

125. The site of this fortress was to be in Marybonne Park, or, as it is now called, the Regent's Park. The area was to contain twenty-seven statute acres of ground, and it was to be surrounded by a wall of great height and thickness, so as to make it proof against any-thing but a regular assault by bombs and cannon. It was to contain foot, horse, and artillery; and the report of PERCEVAL's speech upon the subject made him say that "fatal consequences might arise from the separation of men from their horses, because in cases of need the people might intercept the men in their way to their horses." R

was also said in very plain terms, in justification of the measure, that this new species of fortress was to serve as a place of lodgment or garrison for other troops, in case of their being brought to the metropolis for the purpose of upholding the government. In vain did men refer to the principles of the constitution ; in vain did they represent, that a standing soldier, and that barracks and inland fortresses, were wholly unknown to our forefathers ; in vain was all this said, the country was humble ; it had been brought down by its fears, by the new and heavy burdens that had been laid upon it, and especially by the frequent suspensions of the Act of Habeas Corpus, by the new treason-laws, and by divers other measures, and by all the whole series of Acts which had been passed during the preceding twenty-two years. The press was brought down to a state of perfect slavery ; and, a thing which ought never to be forgotten, both the political parties joined together most cordially in approving of this oppression of the press ; a remarkable proof of which occurred in the result of a motion made, in the House of Commons, on the 20th of March 1811, by Lord Viscount FOLKESTONE ; a motion the object of which was, to call to account and to reprove the then Attorney-General GIBBS for the use which he had made of the power of prosecuting on *ex-officio* informations. After a long debate begun by Lord FOLKESTONE, in a speech which never can be forgotten by the

people of England, there appeared upon the division only 38 for the motion, and 121 against it. Not one single man of the persons called *the Whigs*, who had ever taken any conspicuous part in public matters, was found to vote for the motion, with the exception of Sir JOHN NEWPORT and Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY. So that the press either lay totally prostrate, or was made use of for the purpose of upholding PERCEVAL and his iron system of government. Against his measure for establishing the inland fortress, scarcely a man in parliament opened his mouth, and the few that did were laughed at as fools, or reviled as traitors by the London press, it being unsafe for any man boldly to write in their defence.

126. It was in this state of things, and with a resolution ready prepared, and in his pocket, to move for the establishment of Marybonne Park fortress, while special commissions were announced to go into the North to try men for what was called "*rioting*," in the counties of York, Nottingham, Chester, Leicester, Stafford, and Lancaster ; it was in this state of things, and thus armed and prepared, that PERCEVAL walked into the lobby of the House of Commons in the evening of the 11th of May ; feeling that he had this once high-spirited nation at his feet ; seeing every one bow and crouch before him ; it was just at this moment that a bullet entered his heart, and brought him down dead in that lobby !

127. To stop here to moralize would be a thing

not compatible with my plan, which here demands a true account of the cause of his death. A man named JOHN BELLINGHAM, who had been a merchant at Liverpool, and who had, according to his own account at least, experienced very great losses, owing to wrongs done him by the merchants, the courts, and the government, in Russia, to which country he traded, in which country he had been, in which country he had made many applications to the English minister for redress; having obtained no redress, he returned to England, where, wearied out with useless applications for redress which he made to divers departments of the government here, he at last became desperate, and resolved to get rid of his life, but to take revenge on some one of the government. For this purpose, he went into the lobby of the House of Commons, armed with two pistols well-loaded. He there sat him down on a bench, waiting the arrival of the ministers; and, PERCEVAL being the first of them that entered the lobby, he deliberately rose from his seat and shot him dead, the ball actually going through his heart. Having done this, he returned to his seat without saying a word, having put the pistol back again into his pocket; and if he had risen in a minute or two afterwards, and walked quietly out into the street, he would have escaped, and the committer of the murder would never have been known

unless he had chosen to divulge it; but, having no desire to escape, and hearing people demand "*Where's the murderer! Where's the murderer!*" he rose from his seat and very placidly said: "I am the man that killed Mr. PERCEVAL; and here is the pistol with which I killed him." He was instantly seized; as soon as a troop of horse-guards could be brought, he was sent to Newgate. He was tried as soon as possible, and, of course, underwent the penalty of the law due to wilful and premeditated murder. His conduct in prison, at his trial, and at the place of execution, all indicated that he had for some time been bereft of his sober senses; and proved that he was one of those unhappy men who are driven to a state of insanity by not being able to bear misfortunes, and especially misfortunes proceeding from what they deem wrongs. Nothing can exceed the consternation with which this deed filled the parliament, and all persons engaged in the government. The Speaker of the House of Commons (ABBOTT) ordered the doors to be locked, and ordered some of the members to go before, and others to follow, the prisoner, to assist the serjeant-at-arms to defeat any attempt that might be made at a rescue. The alarm in the House of Lords was still greater. All the forms of proceeding were cast aside; the LORD CHANCELLOR himself immediately made a motion for shutting the doors in order to prevent further

mischiefs being perpetrated. In the meanwhile, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND had been and seen the dead body; and came into the House of Lords and declared the fact. The Lord Chief Justice (ELLENBOROUGH), who was, when the murder was committed, sitting on a trial in the Court of King's Bench, and who, upon hearing of what had happened, had quitted his court, leaving plaintiffs and defendants and counsellors and jurors, all in a fright, hurried into the House of Lords, where he soon moved that some evidence might be taken at the bar, in order to ground thereon a regular proceeding of some sort. This was at once agreed to; and after evidence had been produced and taken down in great haste, proving that PERCEVAL had been killed in the lobby of the Commons, the House hastily passed a resolution, addressing the Regent upon the subject, requesting him to issue a proclamation for the speedy prosecution of the offender or offenders; and, this motion having passed, the House immediately adjourned to two o'clock the next day.

128. BELLINGHAM was first dragged into the House of Commons, thither he was followed by the people in the lobby; so that the House was filled cram full with members, reporters, spectators, messengers, and persons of all descriptions mingled pell-mell; so that it was nearly an hour before anything like order could be restored, and

before men appeared to know what they were at. In the meanwhile, however, the news of the deed and of its result, had spread itself in every direction throughout this immense metropolis; and before BELLINGHAM was brought out, from fifty to a hundred thousand persons had assembled in the area before and near the house of parliament; and their expressions and exclamations on the subject were by no means calculated to quiet the alarms of those within. The prisoner, BELLINGHAM, having been examined, he was about to be conveyed to a coach which was brought for the purpose of receiving him, at a quarter before eight o'clock. This coach, which had been sent for by the order of the magistrates, immediately occupied the attention of the people. The prisoner was taken from the committee-room, and guarded by the messengers and police-officers to the southern entrance of the House of Commons. One of the officers came out and entered the carriage, and the opposite door was immediately pulled open amidst the cheers of the people. Upon this, the officers returned to the prison-room, and informed the chairman of the magistrates, that he did not think it secure to proceed with the prisoner *without the aid of a military force*. In consequence of this report, a troop of horse-guards were sent for, who soon arrived, full armed with pistols, swords, and carabines. The people expressed great dissatisfaction at the ap-

pearance of the soldiers, who, however, remained opposite the parliament-house until midnight, when the prisoner, brought along a private passage, was put into a coach, accompanied by several police-officers and one of the members of the House of Commons, who was also a justice of the peace. The coach, thus filled, and driving at a great rate, was guarded by the soldiers, and by these means, about one o'clock in the morning of the 12th of May, BELLINGHAM was lodged in the prison of Newgate.

129. The alarm by no means subsided. The two houses of parliament met on the 12th; and the House of Lords did nothing but resolve to adjourn from day to day. The extent of the alarm may easily be guessed at from the reported words of the Lord Chancellor, ELDON, upon the occasion: "He trusted that the noble lords would give him credit when he declared that the state of the country was such that it was necessary that the house should sit from day to day, in order to be ready to take such steps as circumstances might require; for it was impossible to say what might happen in the course of a few days." The fears so clearly manifested in this speech, had arisen from the persuasion, that BELLINGHAM must have had some accomplices or instigators; and, indeed, that his conduct had proceeded from a plan concerted in the northern counties, or at least that there was some sort of

connexion between him and the persons engaged in the disturbances in those counties. Owing to the same persuasion all the troops near at hand were called out under arms as soon as the death of PERCEVAL was known; and, at Windsor (then the place of residence of the king, queen, and princesses), the greatest consternation prevailed in the evening, and during the night, of the 11th. A regiment of dragoons, quartered in the barrack on Hounslow Heath were marched thence to Colnbrook, on the road between London and Windsor.

: 130. These alarms were augmented by what every one who reflects must look upon as a very great indiscretion on the part of the government; namely the causing to be published officially, in the *London Gazette*, divers stupid anonymous threatening letters, of which official publications the following is a curious and, I trust, never again to be imitated specimen :

“Whitehall, May 19, 1812.

“Whereas it has been humbly represented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that the following anonymous threatening letters have been sent to the Right Hon. Colonel M'Mahon.

“‘Provisions cheaper—*Bread or Blood*—Tell your master ‘he is a *Damn'd unfeeling Scoundrel*, and if he don't attend ‘to the above, *Death* shall be his portion, and that soon; it's ‘come to the point now, and we are determined to strike ‘the decisive blow.

“‘May 12, 1812.

VOX POPULI.

“‘Addressed to Colonel M'Mahon,
“‘Carlton-House, Pall-Mall.’

"George Prince of Wales. Take care of yourself for
 "your life is in danger, you shall meet the same fate as Mr.
 "Perceval if Billenghall is hung before this reach you. You
 "blackguard you shall be shot before three months is
 "elapsed if Billenghall is hung you shall be shot as sure as
 "I remain an enemy to all the damned Royal Family,
 "'Addressed to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent,
 "'Windsor.
 "'With Speed.'

"His Royal Highness, for the better apprehending and
 "bringing to justice the persons concerned in writing and
 "sending the anonymous letters above-mentioned, is hereby
 "pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to
 "promise his Majesty's most gracious pardon to any one of
 "them (except the person who actually wrote the said let-
 "ters), who shall discover his, her, or their accomplice or
 "accomplices therein, so that he, she, or they may be ap-
 "prehended and convicted thereof. R. RYDER.

"And as a further encouragement, a reward of ONE
 "THOUSAND POUNDS is hereby offered to any person making
 "such discovery as aforesaid (except as is before excepted),
 "to be paid on the conviction of any one or more of the of-
 "fenders by the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of his
 "Majesty's Treasury."

131. While these letters were, according to
 the date of the first of them, being sent in the
 manner which is stated in the proclamation, other
 indications were shown of the discontents of the
 people. Upon the news of the death of PERCE-
 VAL arriving at Nottingham, at Leicester, at
 Truro, and indeed all over the country, demon-
 strations of joy were shown by the ringing of
 bells, the making of bonfires and the like ; and,
 at Nottingham, particularly, soldiers were called

out to disperse the people upon the occasion. Looked at soberly here were no grounds for alarm. Those who write anonymous letters very seldom act according to those letters. The very act itself shows that the party writing or sending is afraid to *do any-thing*; and as to the writings on the walls in London, "*Rescue BELLINGHAM, or die,*" these were too low to bestow even contempt upon; besides that, a wise government would have considered that writings of this description might have been, and very likely were, the offspring of men who wished to see severe laws passed against the people, and who really had no object in view but that of calumniating the people and causing them to be enslaved.

132. Nothing ever heard of in man can exceed the calmness with which BELLINGHAM met his fate. He committed the deed on the Monday, was tried on the Friday, and was executed the next Monday morning at eight o'clock. He wrote to his wife on the Sunday night, a letter in which he spoke with the greatest calmness of her and of his children; told her that he sent her his watch and his prayer-book, and prayed God to preserve her and her children. After writing this letter he went to sleep as if nothing extraordinary was expected in the morning. During the trial on the Friday, troops had been placed in readiness at no great distance from the Sessions-house where he was tried. For the time

of execution, a larger portion of troops had been provided. Some thousands of soldiers were in motion by five o'clock, and many bodies of military were assembled by six; taking their stations, as the government papers informed the public, in convenient places, least likely to excite the people's attention. At the place of execution, the prisoner thanked God for having enabled him to meet his fate with so much fortitude and resignation. At the moment when the hangman was making the usual preparations; at the moment that he was going out of the world; at the moment when he was expecting every breath to be his last, his ears were saluted with "*God bless you, God bless you, God Almighty bless you, God Almighty bless you!*" issuing from the lips of many thousands of persons. The newspapers informed the public that a few persons exclaimed "**BELLINGHAM** for ever!" Others stated that there were many persons anxious to possess *some relic* of the deceased; and that the great-coat in which he was executed was sold for ten pounds, while other parts of his dress were bought at a price equally exorbitant. The buttons of his clothes were all sold at high prices.

133. These circumstances are of importance only as they show what the feeling of the nation was at this time. With regard to the fact of the offender going out of the world amidst the blessings of the people, I, the author of this History,

can vouch for its truth, having been an eye and ear witness of the awful and most memorable scene, standing, as I did, at the window of that prison out of which he went to be executed, and into which I had been put, in consequence of a prosecution ordered by this very PERCEVAL, and, the result of which prosecution was a sentence to be imprisoned *two years*, amongst felons in Newgate, to pay *a thousand pounds* to the PRINCE REGENT at the end of the two years, and to be held in bonds for *seven years* afterwards; all which was executed upon me to the very letter; except that I rescued myself from the society of the felons by a cost of twenty guineas a week, for the *hundred and four weeks*; and all this I had to suffer for having published a paragraph, in which I expressed my indignation at the flogging of English local militia-men, at the town of Ely, in England, *under a guard of Hanoverian bayonets*. From this cause, I was placed in a situation to witness the execution of this unfortunate man. The crowd was assembled in the open space, just under the window at which I stood. I saw the anxious looks; I saw the half-horrified countenances; I saw the mournful tears run down; and I heard the unanimous blessings. What, then, were these tears shed, and these blessings bestowed by Englishmen upon *a murderer*? He was a murderer to be sure; the act was unjustifiable; there is no defence to be offered for it without an

abandonment of every principle of justice known amongst men; but, the people did not rejoice because a murder had been committed; they did not shed tears for and bless BELLINGHAM because he had committed a murder; but because his act, clearly wicked as it was in itself, had ridded them of one whom they looked upon as the leader amongst those whom they thought totally bent on the destruction of their liberties. In a speech which the MARQUESS of WELLESLEY was reported to have made a few days after this affair took place, the people of England were described as having become ferocious and bloody. Not they, indeed. Their character was in nothing changed; they were still the same humane people; had still the same horror at the shedding of blood as their fathers had been famed for for a thousand years. Their conduct upon this occasion only shows, and it does show in the most striking light, the deep discontent that they felt at the terrible laws that had been passed, and were almost daily passing, to abridge their liberties and to deprive them of all security, whether for property, limb, or life.

134. The House of Commons, having recovered from their fright, made the first use of that recovery by proceeding to take measures for granting sums of public money to the family of the deceased minister, the particulars of which grants will be a subject of observation hereafter. In addition to the money, they resolved upon a monu-

ment to his memory, as they did in the case of **PITT**. One member proposed a *public funeral*, attended by all the heraldic insignia and officers of the king, and to be paid for out of the public money. This intended honour was, however, desisted from for reasons at which every reader will be able to guess after what has been said of the feelings of the people. The funeral took place on Saturday the 16th of May, at the unusual hour of seven o'clock in the morning, when the body was put into a hearse, and carried to the little village of Charlton, in Kent, about eight miles from London. Whether by accident or not, a considerable body of cavalry-soldiers marched along the same road that the funeral went, a short distance before the hearse. Thus fell **SPENCER PERCEVAL**, at the threshold of the House of Commons, in the 50th year of his age; and, which is not, perhaps, wholly unworthy of notice, he fell on the anniversary of the ever-memorable day of the making of Mr. **MADDOX**'s motion respecting the conduct of this same **PERCEVAL**, and into the grounds of which motion, the honourable body to which they both belonged refused to inquire. Alas! how fleeting are human triumphs, and how capricious is the exercise of human power! With those majorities, those overwhelming majorities, by the means of which he had so often yielded protection to others, when assailed with all the artillery of political warfare, he was not able to pro-

tect himself against a little bit of lead scarcely surpassing in bulk a single knot of a *cat-o'-nine-tails*

135. This event was productive of very great consequences. It took away the head of the faction that were in power, and opened the way for new intrigues on the part of the Whigs, who were all alive and in action immediately ; but, before I speak of that intrigue and of the curious manner in which they were again kept out of place, let me speak of the other consequences of the death of PERCEVAL. He had *special commissions* in his eye ready for the counties of the North. These dwindled into nothing directly, and, as to the fortress in *Marybonne Park*, as to that daring project, it never was again heard of, and never has been mentioned in parliament from that day to this. Dreadful menaces were uttered by violent men ; menaces incessant : the clergy and other bodies ; but particularly the clergy, addressed the Regent, and called upon him for vigorous measures. The bishop, dean, and chapter, archdeacons and clergy, of the diocese of Salisbury, in their address to the Regent upon this occasion, called PERCEVAL "an upright minister, and one of the brightest examples of public and private virtue ;" they tell the Regent that, "as ministers of religion, they are called upon to *strenuously exert themselves* against those who have *stirred up the people to outrage against good government.*" They accuse part of the people of

being *domestic traitors*, carrying on their secret machinations, and they say that they rest with confidence on the Supreme Disposer of all events, and firmly trust, that, under his continued protection, the councils of the Prince Regent will be characterized by that *energy and decision* which are best calculated to allay internal turbulence, and to carry on the war to a successful conclusion. This was the language of the clergy of a whole diocese, with the bishop at their head, and this was the language which distinguished all the public addresses and other papers of the clergy, from the beginning to the end of that long and bloody and fatal war, which loaded the nation with a debt, which is now (1831) shaking the state to its very centre, and is producing, with regard to tithes and other church revenues, that very event which these clergy of the church urged the carrying on of the war for the sole purpose of preventing.

136. But, now, how was the place of PERCEVAL to be supplied? If the public in general had known the parties well, they would have seen no necessity for going out of PERCEVAL's ministry to find a successor for him; there were Lords LIVERPOOL and CASTLEREAGH; there were Lords SIDMOUTH and HARROWBY and BATHURST; in short, there was not a man amongst them who was not as fit to be prime minister as PERCEVAL himself, and, who was destitute of no one quality for

carrying on the affairs of that system of government as well as he, save and except, that no man was quite equal to him in point of unsparing severity, and of undisguised disregard for the people and for their sufferings on account of the burdens imposed upon them. But, the nation was grown heartily tired of the war; it despaired of seeing an end to it without utter ruin to the country; the expenditure was arrived at an amount that frightened even loan-mongers and stock-jobbers; and the shock given to people's confidence by PERCEVAL's recent acts, which had proclaimed to the whole world the fact of the depreciation of the paper-money; these things made even the pretended exclusively loyal secretly rejoice at his death, which they could not help hoping would lead to some very material change in the managing of the affairs of the country. The clergy were still stanch to the system of war and of boundless taxation; but the main part of the people were not; on the contrary, it was the general desire that a change of men in power should take place.

137. It was clearly the desire of the PRINCE REGENT and of the QUEEN, and of a great part of the proprietors of boroughs, that no change of men should take place, but the difficulty was to accomplish this desire, which was to disappoint the nation, and still to preserve the appearance of not having opposed this desire: in other

words, the difficulty was, to have it appear, that the prince, and the court, and the borough proprietors, were willing that there should be a change; and yet, at the same time, effectually to prevent that change. To bring in the Whigs was a thing desired by nobody but themselves; but to bring in some of them, and some others that played a double game between the two factions, and thus form what was termed a strong and united government, was a great favourite with a large part of the people of every class of life. How this favourite object was defeated; how PERCEVAL's set were retained in power, taking Lord LIVERPOOL from amongst them, and putting him at the head, I am now about to relate.

138. The MARQUESS of WELLESLEY and CANNING had both, at one time, belonged to the PERCEVAL administration; but both, upon some pretence or other had retired from it, the true reason being, that each of them wanted to be master; and that for the reasons before-stated, PERCEVAL was necessarily the master of the whole, and thus must have been, for the joint lives of himself and the PRINCE REGENT. The first step, therefore, which the REGENT was advised to take, was to authorize LIVERPOOL to open a negotiation with WELLESLEY and CANNING, offering them posts in a new-modelled ministry; but they being given clearly to understand that neither of them was to be the head

of the ministry, declined making a part of that ministry. There was now a danger that WELLESLEY and CANNING would join Lords GRENVILLE and GREY and the Whigs, which would have formed a party too strong for LIVERPOOL, ELDON, and their set, to resist, especially at such a time of general depression in the country, on the eve of a war with America, in the midst of a stagnation of trade, and almost suspension of manufactures, and when several of the counties of the North were in a very turbulent state, added to which was the depreciation of the paper-money, and the expenditure, which was now become perfectly enormous.

139. To prevent a union between these two parties, the PRINCE REGENT was next advised to commission WELLESLEY to form an administration. WELLESLEY and CANNING were conjoined in the business. That was clearly understood. They first made their overtures to LIVERPOOL and his colleagues, who drily, but flatly, rejected them. WELLESLEY next addressed himself to Lords GREY and GRENVILLE, LIVERPOOL well-knowing that they would never come in unless they were at the head. After a great deal of very unmeaning correspondence between them, they also rejected the proposition of WELLESLEY. Here the matter would have rested, the PERCEVAL administration would have remained quite to the satisfaction of the PRINCE

REGENT and the courtiers; the prince would have been exculpated from all blame for not having done his best to obtain a strong and united administration, and the Perceval ministry would have remained without another word said about the matter. But, there was Lord MOIRA in the way: PERCEVAL being gone, the PRINCE, for very powerful reasons, wished to provide for Lord MOIRA. Yet, Lord MOIRA, having always belonged to the Whigs, how was he to be brought in to a ministry with Liverpool and the rest of the Perceval set without incurring the charge of having deserted his party? This was a nice point; it was a seemingly insuperable obstacle, yet it was overcome, and Lord MOIRA found it consistent to join with LIVERPOOL and the PERCEVAL crew. WELLESLEY's power to form a ministry was declared to be at an end, and Lord MOIRA was authorized by the PRINCE to form a new administration! He made his overtures, of course, to Lords GREY and GRENVILLE: at first he did it unofficially, in letters to Lord Grey; but, finding that the fish would not bite without authority on the hook, he obtained the authority, and then made his overtures; which, however, were at last rejected. In the course of his letters to GREY, Lord MOIRA had expressed his dissatisfaction at the course taken by the two Whig lords; therefore, when they finally rejected his overtures, he declared himself at liberty to sepa-

rate from them for the purpose of aiding his royal master to carry on the government; and thus the PERCEVAL administration still continued, with the sole admission of Lord MOIRA into an office having no sort of weight as connected with political matters; and LIVERPOOL, who had remained silent and snug all the while, not seeming at all to expect the great powers about to be placed in his hands, found himself, one Tuesday morning, first lord of the Treasury and prime minister; and VANSITTART, who had brought in the famous resolution about the one-pound note and the shilling in 1811, was appointed his Chancellor of the Exchequer.

140. Thus were the Whigs once more turned out, or rather kept out, on the barren common, while their rivals were fattening in the dank pastures of war and taxation. But, PERCEVAL had left several very troublesome legacies behind him. He had, indeed, left a very valuable legacy to his successors; namely, THE BOOK, and all the secrets connected with the affair of the ill-treated Princess of Wales. It has been before shown, that it was this grand secret that first made him minister; that it was it which preserved his place when the PRINCE became Regent with limited powers; that it still made him prime minister when the Prince became possessed of all the kingly powers, and that (general convulsion out of the question) it must have made him minister

for the joint lives of himself and the Prince Regent, whether he were regent or king. But this secret was not less valuable to his successors than to himself. They, in stepping into the possession of his power, stepped also into the possession of the source of that power. The PRINCESS was still alive; she might, at any day, be brought forward; there was, as we shall see by and by, a very general claim putting forward for her by the people, who were beginning to insist that she ought to be styled the PRINCESS REGENT, and to hold her courts accordingly. If, therefore, LIVERPOOL, ELDON, SIDMOUTH, and the rest of the PERCEVAL administration, had been turned out at this time, they might have joined the people, brought out all the history of the transactions of 1806 and 1807, and insisted upon her being acknowledged as PRINCESS REGENT, and upon her holding her courts and drawing-rooms; things which the other party could not do, because it was that party who had instituted the investigation against her, who had refused her justice; who had advised the late king, first not to receive her at court, and afterwards not to place her upon an equal footing with the rest of his family, and who, in short, had been the instruments in the work of her degradation. This, therefore, was the true cause of the retaining of the PERCEVAL administration in power, and of the exaltation of LIVERPOOL; benefits which

they exclusively owed to the valuable legacy left them by this little hard-twisted lawyer.

141. But he left them other legacies, which, had they been men of sense and of love for their country, they would have shuddered at receiving. Amongst these legacies was the war which immediately afterwards commenced between England and the United States of America; a war the most unjust on our part that ever nation was engaged in, and bringing upon this country, in its result, disgrace such as England never had before to endure, and followed by consequences such as will require all the wisdom, all the talent, all the courage, all the public virtue, of every description, that England can command, to prevent those consequences from finally being fatal to her power.

142. This is one of the great events of the regency and reign of GEORGE the FOURTH. The war which terminated in the independence of these States, laid the foundation of all the calamities with which the nation was afflicted during the reign of GEORGE the THIRD. That war was unjust in its principle, and, in the conduct of it, most disgraceful. This war was equally unjust; its progress and consequences were of the greatest importance to the country; and, therefore, the *real grounds* of this war ought here to be placed clearly upon record. From the commencement of the unjust and unnecessary war against the republicans of France, disputes between England

and the United States had arisen relative to the rights of the parties on the seas. The success of England against France depended, in a great measure, on the power of the former to intercept and destroy the commerce of the French. By her navy, she soon accomplished nearly the destruction of the French naval force, and also of their mercantile marine ; but the French do not, as we do, depend so much on operations on the waters. Their trade forms a much smaller part, in proportion, than ours does, of the resources of the country ; having a cold climate and a hot climate and a medium climate, all within the same *ring-fence*, they have not that need of external commerce that we have ; they do not so much depend upon imports and exports ; but still they want some outlet for their produce in exchange for various commodities, without which, in the present state of the world, great confusion must be produced in the affairs of the nation. Besides this, France is now-and-then visited with that great calamity, a scarcity of bread, which can receive alleviation by no other means than those afforded by other countries, which other countries cannot come to their relief except by the means of ships. One of these calamities was experienced in France in the year 1793, just at the breaking out of the war between this country and that. The Americans, having prodigious quantities of corn and of flour to spare, sent hun-

dreds of ship-loads to France, a great part of which were intercepted by English ships of war and privateers, brought into England, where the cargoes were detained, paying to the owners pretty much what our Government thought proper. This was an extension of the rights of belligerents against neutrals, such as had never been heard of before ; the PRESIDENT of AMERICA had issued a proclamation, declaring those States neutral ; but our Government, whenever it suited its purpose, set that neutrality at defiance. The same thing was done with regard to the maritime commerce of the United States in their intercourse with the French West India islands as long as they remained in possession of the French. When Holland, owing to the invasion of the French, was compelled to join in the war against England, neutrals trading with it and with its islands, were treated in the same manner. The French were carrying on a sweeping and successful war upon the continent, and England the same sort of war upon the seas.

143. The United States remonstrated ; negotiations endless were going on ; their policy was to remain at peace if possible ; but, though they did not go to war, they incessantly remonstrated against this disregard of the laws of neutrality, keeping on, all the while, making preparations for their defence in case of the dire necessity arriving.

144. They acknowledged, and I trust they and

all the world will always be compelled to acknowledge, our right, when at war, to stop merchant ships on the high seas, to search them, to ascertain whether they be bound to our enemy's port, and, if so, whether they have on board articles contraband of war, that is to say, arms, ammunition, horse-furniture, and other things used in war ; and, if bound to a port which we are blockading, if they have provisions on board ; and, in such cases, to take out the provisions, to take out the munitions of war, to bring the ship into port for that purpose, in some cases to condemn both ship and cargo ; and, in all cases, where the property on board be found to be the property of an enemy, to seize and confiscate that property. Further, the rights of a belligerent with regard to neutrals extend to a prohibition, after due notice, to enter any port of any enemy of that belligerent which is placed in a state of efficient blockade.

145. These are the rights of England upon the seas when she is at war ; and these rights she can never give up, and can never relax in the enforcement of, without a surrender of her character and her power.

146. But far were our ministers from being content with the enjoyment of these rights. BUONAPARTE had issued two decrees, one dated at Berlin, and the other at Milan, prohibiting all British goods from entering any port under the control of France, which then embraced almost

the whole of the Continent ; and, not only British goods, but any goods of any country coming last from any British port at home or abroad. In what was called retaliation for this, our ministers declared all the ports of all the countries under the control of France to be in a state of blockade, which was, to be sure, the most monstrous stretch of the rights of a belligerent ever before dreamed of in the world. For many years the Americans endured this. By false papers, by sham certificates of origin, by clandestine invoices, by licenses obtained here in England ; by one means or another, they contrived to carry on still a lucrative commerce, always, however, protesting, always remonstrating, and frequently menacing, from the lips or the pens of their negotiators. At last, however, our ministers began to do that for which the BERLIN and MILAN decrees could afford no excuse, and for which nothing could offer a palliation ; that is to say, they began to impress seamen on board the American ships on the high seas, under the pretence that they were the subjects of the king and deserters from his service. If they had confined these impressments to British subjects, the thing would have been a cruel novelty ; but this was impossible in a case where all spoke the same language ; all had the same manners ; all were of the same nation, except by the mere accident of locality and birth. English naval officers, seldom remarkable for

moderation in the exercise of their power, being once authorised to stop American ships on the high seas, and to take British subjects out of them ; and having the physical power to take out of them whom and as many as they pleased ; these officers, being thus authorised, would, as a matter of course, consider every man whom they wished to take, to be a British subject ; and, under this pretence, they impressed hundreds upon hundreds of native Americans, compelled them to serve on board English ships of war, had them flogged for disobedience or neglect, placed them in battle like the rest of the sailors, where many of them were wounded and many of them killed.

147. This was too much, not perhaps for the cool politicians of the American government to endure, but too much for the *people of America* to endure. The people took the matter in hand ; letters and certificates from impressed American seamen were authenticated and published, containing all the horrid details of the cruelties that had been endured by the suffering parties ; the American newspapers were filled with these blood-stirring details, and the whole country, from one end to the other, cried "*War, loss of commerce, invasion, extermination, rather than endure this !*" The American government did everything in its power to assuage this anger : it called upon the people to wait the result of the negotiations then going on upon the subject. Dur-

ing these negotiations, they offered terms so fair that it fills one with indignation to think that this country had to suffer from a war in consequence of a rejection of those terms. They offered to pass an act, imposing a penalty on any American captain that should take on board a British subject as a seaman ; they offered to agree that any British officer, civil or military, duly authorised by the Government, should be permitted to go on board of any mercantile American ship in any port, whether within the British dominions, or any other dominions, and cause to be taken any American seaman before a magistrate, being any usual magistrate of the place or port ; and if that magistrate determined that the man claimed was a British subject, they agreed to give him up at once on the bare decision of that magistrate ; but they expressed their determination to encounter all hazards rather than suffer foreigners to stop their ships upon the high seas, and to take out of them persons of any description whatsoever under pretence of those persons being foreign subjects. Nothing could be more reasonable or more just than this ; yet the proposition was haughtily rejected by those insolent and feeble-minded creatures, who were afterwards beaten single-handed in a war of aggression, of invasion, and extermination, waged against this free and happy people under this wise and moderate government.

148. These terms having been rejected, the

Congress passed an act, a little while before the death of PERCEVAL, as a sort of prelude to the war, still hoping, however, to avoid war. This act explains clearly, and in few words, the grounds of this memorable war ; and it is of vast importance that the English people should always have it to refer to as a ground of accusation against the ministry and the Parliament that involved them in this war, and thereby not only added seventy millions to the enormous debt, but actually created that American navy with which we shall one day have to cope, and which we must finally overcome, or surrender that sovereignty of the seas without which our country is England only in mere name. The reading of this law explains the whole matter : here are the grounds of complaint, here is the remedy, short of war : the remedy did not succeed, and war was the consequence.

*A Bill for the Protection, Recovery, and Indemnification of
American Seamen.*

The preamble states, that His Britannic Majesty has caused to be impressed out of the ships of the United States, sailing on the high seas, under the American flag, divers liege citizens of said States, and hath compelled them to serve on board the ships of war of Great Britain, and to fight against the United States, and that numbers of them are yet detained.—It is therefore enacted that from and after the 4th day of June next, any person or persons who shall impress any native seaman of the United States, sailing on the high seas, or in any port, river, haven, basin, or bay, under pretence or colour

of a commission from any foreign power, shall, for every such offence, be adjudged a pirate and felon, and on conviction, suffer death; and the trial in such case shall be had where the offender is apprehended or may be first brought.—That it shall be lawful for any seaman, sailing under the flag of the United States, on any person or persons attempting to impress him to repel by force; and if any person so attempting to impress said seaman shall be killed, maimed, or wounded, such seaman, on the general issue, may give the special matter in evidence, which is hereby declared a perfect justification. That on information being given to the President of the United States, proving satisfactorily to him that any citizen of the United States shall have been impressed, and shall be yet detained, or shall hereafter be impressed, to cause the most rigorous retaliation on any of the subjects of said Government taken on the high seas, or within the British territories, whom he is hereby authorized to cause to be taken and seized for that purpose, any treaty to the contrary notwithstanding.—That any seaman, heretofore or hereafter impressed, may attach, in the hands of any British subject, or in the hands of any debtor of any British subject, a sum equal to thirty dollars per month for the whole time he shall have been detained on board any British vessel or vessels.—That the President of the United States may capture, by way of reprisal, as many British subjects, on the high seas or within the British territories, as may be equal to the impressed American seamen in the possession of Great Britain, and by a cartel to exchange the same.—That the President, whenever sufficient testimony shall be produced that the commander of any public armed vessel of any foreign nation shall have taken or impressed from on board any ship or other vessel of the United States, while at any port or place not within the jurisdiction of such foreign nation, or while on her passage to or from any port or place any seaman, mariner, or other person not being in the military service of an enemy of such foreign nation, may prohibit by proclamation, every person residing within the United States or its territory, from affording aid, succour, or provisions, of whatever kind, to such ship or vessel; and any pilot

or other person residing within the United States, who shall, after such prohibition shall have been made known, and before the same shall be revoked, afford aid, succour, or provisions, as aforesaid, to such ship or vessel, and be thereof convicted, shall be sentenced to be imprisoned not exceeding one year, and fined not exceeding one thousand dollars.—That from and after the 4th of June next, whenever full and sufficient testimony shall be produced, that the commanders of public armed vessels of any foreign nation have impressed or taken from on board any ship or vessel within the jurisdiction of the United States, or while on her passage to or from any port or place, any seaman, mariner, or other person, the President may prohibit, by proclamation, the landing from on board any ship or other vessel of the foreign nation (whose commander or commanders have offended as aforesaid) any goods, ware, or merchandise within any of the ports of the United States or the territories of the United States.

149. This act of the Congress was absolutely forced upon them by the people. All the mercantile part of the Congress appeared to be dead to every sentiment of public spirit; and the members of the Eastern States, as the Americans call them, but which lie in the northern part of the country, were almost all hostile to the act, and hostile to every measure of resistance against the acts of our ministry. They had been plotting for years for the purpose of counteracting the federal, or general, government in every step which it had taken for the defence of the citizens of America against the arbitrary acts sanctioned by the English ministry. The great cities in America are all great places of external commerce; the merchants are all connected with merchants and manufacturers.

in England by ties of interest. The commerce of America was, and is, more than half of the whole, carried on to and from the English dominions; the English merchants are the creditors of those in America, generally their lenders, and very frequently an apparently great merchant there is little more than an agent carrying on trade, and apparently owning ships, in virtue of the money, and, in great part, for the benefit of the English merchant, who is the real owner of the money and of the ships. Therefore, the merchants in America, particularly in the north, whence come the ships to carry on the greater part of the external commerce, were all decidedly against a war with England, and against all resistance of the acts of her ministry, committed against American citizens; for, in fact, they looked upon England as their country much more than they did America: but not so with the people at large; and it was a curious thing to behold that it was the farmers and labourers and country-people generally, that demanded vengeance on those who had impressed and tyrannised over the maritime citizens. It was on them, too, that even the commercial cities had to rely for defence after the war broke out; thus verifying the prediction of Mr. JEFFERSON; namely, that if ever the country should be placed in a state of peril, it must rely for its safety on the arms of the tillers of the ground.

150. The act of the Americans, which act we have just seen, and which was passed in May 1812, was, as was evident to all but the stupid and arrogant men who ruled England, a mere preamble to a declaration of war ; and, accordingly, this declaration very speedily followed it. In America so important an affair as that of making war is not left to the decision of the executive magistrate and his ministers. It is not left to those who have commissions in the army and the navy to bestow ; it is not left to those whose relations and dependants may fatten upon contracts arising out of the war : it is a power, the exercise of which is retained by the people themselves ; and the act is performed by the whole body of the representatives of the people. War is, in short, *enacted* in the same manner as any other thing is enacted ; and this war was enacted by the Congress in the following act :

“ Act of Congress, declaring war against England.

“ An Act, declaring war between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dependencies thereof, and the United States of America, and their Territories.

“ Be it enacted, by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, That war be and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dependencies thereof, and the United States of America, and their Territories ; and that the President of the United States be and he is hereby authorised to use the whole land and naval forces of the United States to carry the same into effect ; and to issue to private armed vessels

“ of the United States, commissions or letters of marque and
“ general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and
“ under the seal of the United States, against the vessels,
“ goods, and effects of the government of the United King-
“ dom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof.

“ June, 18, 1812.—Approved,

“ JAMES MADISON.

“ *Washington, July 18, 4 o'clock p.m.*”

151. It was in this simple, plain, sensible, and honest manner, that the United States declared this war. Here are none of those false professions and pretences that other governments resort to. It is the declaration of a free people, and it is made in words becoming such a people. The English ministry did not answer this declaration at all. They could not answer it; but issued a miserable order in council for the seizure and detention of American vessels; and not for the condemnation of them; not for making prize of them; and not for committing hostilities against the United States in any manner whatever. All the documents relating to the *grounds* of this most important war ought to be preserved; and even the small space which is alone compatible with my plan demands the insertion of this order in council, which was the only answer ever given to the plain and honest declaration on the part of America.

“ At the Court at Carlton House, the 31st of July, 1812,
“ present his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in Coun-
“ cil:—It is this day ordered by his Royal Highness the
“ Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Ma-

“ jesty, and by and with the advice of his Majesty’s Privy
“ Council, that no ship or vessel belonging to any of his
“ Majesty’s subjects, be permitted to enter and clear out for
“ any of the ports within the territories of the United
“ States of America, until further order; and his Royal
“ Highness is further pleased, in the name and on behalf of
“ his Majesty, and by and with the advice aforesaid, to order,
“ that a general embargo or stop be made of all ships and
“ vessels whatsoever, belonging to the citizens of the United
“ States of America, now within, or which shall hereafter
“ come into, any of the ports, harbours and roads, within any
“ part of his Majesty’s dominions, together with all persons
“ and effects on board all such ships or vessels; and that the
“ commanders of his Majesty’s ships of war and privateers
“ do detain and bring into port all ships and vessels belonging
“ to the citizens of the United States of America, or bearing
“ the flag of the said United States, except such as may be
“ furnished with British licenses, which vessels are allowed
“ to proceed according to the tenor of the said licenses; but
“ that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and
“ every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships or
“ vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be
“ sustained; and the Commanders of his Majesty’s ships of
“ war and privateers are hereby instructed to detain and bring
“ into port every such ship and vessel accordingly, except
“ such as are above excepted: and the Right Hon. the Lords
“ Commissioners of his Majesty’s Treasury, the Lords Com-
“ missioners of the Admiralty, and Lord Warden of the
“ Cinque Ports, are to give the necessary directions herein
“ as to them may respectively appertain.

“ CHETWYND.”

152. This order in council was intended for the insolent purpose of making the world believe that it was beneath the *English* government to declare war against such a country as America, and at the same time for the base purpose of se-

ducing the commercial part of the United States from their due obedience to the government of their country; to effect which latter purpose, as we shall see farther on in this history, the foulest means had, for a long while, been employed. Both these purposes were completely defeated in the end, as will hereafter be shown by the events of 1814 and 1815, until we come to the history of which years we must lay aside the subject of this second war against America; not, however, without adverting to the memorable words of the President MADISON, in that message to the Congress, which the Congress, immediately answered by the above declaration of war. “Our moderation and consideration (said he in his message of the 1st June 1812), have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance in wrongdoing. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence committed on the great and common highway of nations, even within sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels, freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destination, confiscated by prize courts no longer the organs of public law, but the instruments of arbitrary edicts; and their unfortunate crews dispersed and lost, or forced or inveigled into British ports into British fleets; whilst argu-

“ments are employed in support of these aggres-
“sions, which have no foundation but in a prin-
“ciple equally supporting a claim to regulate our
“external commerce in all cases whatsoever.—
“We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Bri-
“tain, a state of war against the United States ;
“and on the side of the United States, a state of
“peace towards Great Britain.—Whether the
“United States shall continue passive under these
“progressive usurpations, and these accumulating
“wrongs ; or, opposing force to force, in defence
“of their natural rights, shall commit a just
“cause into the hands of the Almighty Disposer
“of events ; avoiding all connexions which might
“entangle it in the contests or views of other
“powers, and preserving a constant readiness to
“concur in an honourable re-establishment of
“peace and friendship, is a solemn question,
“which the constitution wisely confides to the
“legislative department of the government. In
“recommending it to their early deliberations,
“I am happy in the assurance that the decision
“will be worthy of the enlightened and patriotic
“councils of a virtuous, a free, and a powerful
“nation.”

153. It was pretended by the English ministers and noised about by their hireling press, that the Americans favoured France in the war which she was carrying on against England ; or, rather, that England was carrying on against her ; and

even the members of Parliament were quite in the habit of representing, by their speeches, Mr. MADISON as a mere tool in the hands of NAPOLEON. Nothing was ever more false than this : one single instance of this partiality was never produced. France also had committed aggressions against the Americans ; but she had never committed that great aggression of all, namely, the impressing and flogging of native American citizens. The truth is, that both nations, England and France, wished to force America into the war, each of them on its own side ; and the Americans resolved to take part with neither. There was a faction in America, on each side also ; but the nation and the government were for strict and honest neutrality ; for cheap government, and for getting out of debt. The English faction in America was by far the most powerful, and in the sequel we shall see what base means were made use of for the purpose of raising up an opposition to the government ; but those means recoiled at least upon the heads of the men that had employed them.

154. With regard to public opinion in England relative to this important war, the war may be said to have been popular ; because the myriads who fattened upon war, were all for war ; and because the press was in such a state, was so shackled on the one hand, and so completely mercenary on the other hand, that it was impos-

sible for the people to come at any-thing like the truth upon the subject; any man who should have dared to make a statement in print relative to the treatment of impressed American citizens; any man who should have dared truly to describe the flogging and other brutal usage of those innocent persons, would have been prosecuted by the Attorney-general, would have been ruined, and half put to death. So that the state of things was much worse than if there had been no press at all; and, besides this, the payers of taxes were so cowed down, they had been brought by degrees to so complete a state of slavery; the national mind was become so abject; that even an event like this war, fraught as it manifestly was with a monstrous addition to the debt, and with disgrace such as England never before experienced; even an event like this seemed to attract far less attention than a gala day for the showing off of splendour purchased with the sweat of the people.

155. This war was a legacy, left by PERCEVAL to his successors, and the expense of it a legacy left to the oppressed people of England. That oppressed people most sincerely rejoiced that he was no more; and at Nottingham, Leicester, Sheffield, Wakefield, Chester, Birmingham, Carlisle, and many other places, they openly expressed their satisfaction by every demonstration of joy. Those who lived on the taxes, on the

other hand, expressed their sorrow : both the political factions, feeling it to be a common cause, mourned at the event, and well would it have been for the people if they had contented themselves with mourning. But, besides mourning, they fell to work with wonderful unanimity, and, as if with a desire to punish the people for their joy, by inflicting on them the effects of enormous pensions to the widow and the eldest son of the deceased minister, besides voting them fifty thousand pounds down in ready money. The two pensions, if calculated on the usual duration of life, could not be reckoned at a less sum than another sixty or eighty thousand pounds ; and these grants were made out of the taxes raised upon the people at a time when distress was so pinching, when hunger was so sharp, as to drive thousands upon thousands of English men and women to brave all the dangers of the terrible penal code ; they were made at a time when the industrious people in the north were so pressed with hunger as to venture their lives for the sake of a handful of potatoes, and when a woman was actually hanged at Manchester upon a charge of highway robbery, she having snatched some potatoes from a cart to carry home to her naked and starving children.

156. Both the political factions joined in supporting and applauding this grant. Both sides of the House joined in this holy work of grati-

tude : nay, those who had always censured the acts of PERCEVAL ; those Whigs whom he had supplanted in place and in power and emolument ; those Whigs who had reproached him for his duplicity, who had represented him as the waster of the public money, who had described him as every-thing that was inefficient and wicked in a minister : those Whigs actually took the lead in this heaping of taxes upon his family ; and that too, as in the case of PITT, upon the ground of his great public services ; upon the ground of the services which he had rendered to the nation. Insults innumerable have been heaped upon this English nation ; but of all the insults this perhaps was the greatest. He had been a minister five years ; he had held a sinecure for many years before that, part of the five years he received from the public about six thousand pounds a year, and the latter part of the time about twelve thousand pounds a year ; the smallest sum exceeding the annual salary of the President of the United States of America ; besides having secured in reversion to himself the great sinecure of his brother LORD ARDEN, which reversion, if sold by PERCEVAL, would have brought him a hundred thousand pounds. And, with regard to his services, instead of the country being bettered during his administration, there was no one respect in which it was not become worse. He had, during the five years, added

fourteen millions a year to the taxes, besides having added a hundred and fifty millions to the national debt; and had thus, during the five years that he had been minister, expended (beyond the revenue in existence before) more than two hundred millions of pounds sterling, the effects of which have been felt from that day to this, and are still felt by every family in the country, those only excepted who live upon the taxes.

157. And while these facts were well known to the whole nation, this grant of money was heaped upon his family as a remuneration for his services! However, flagrant as this transaction was, it tended to good; because it convinced men in the first place that there was no difference between the two factions; and in the next place, that there was no remedy to be found for the evils of the country except in a reform of the Parliament; a reform which both the factions seemed resolved never to grant as long as they should possess the power of refusing. There was manifestly nothing that could relieve the nation short of a reform of the Parliament: even the death of PERCEVAL brought no hope of relief: his system of ruling remained, with an additional enormous burden upon the people, as a sort of punishment, inflicted upon them for having rejoiced at his death.

CHAPTER IV.

*From the Death of the Prime Minister, Perceval,
in May, 1812, to the Fall of Napoleon, in
April, 1814.*

158. The great affairs that took place during this period were, 1. The transactions relating to the Princess of Wales ; and, 2. The events of the Continental war. Those of the war against the United States of America, though passing during the same period, must in order not to divide them, be related in the next chapter.

159. In order to enter upon this affair relative to the PRINCESS OF WALES, the reader ought, before he enter on it, to read the whole of Chapter II. and that part of Chapter III. which is contained in paragraphs 104 to 106, both inclusive ; for we are now going to see in what manner it was that THE BOOK was at last made public. PERCEVAL had, in the manner that we have seen in the paragraphs last referred to, secured, as he thought, the possession of power, for the joint lives of himself and the PRINCE RE-

GENT; but it will be seen presently, that if **BELLINGHAM** had not killed him at the time when he did, he must have ended his days from mere worrying; and that this would have arisen from circumstances the mere surface only of which had hitherto been seen by the people of this kingdom. The Book was published; the effects have been seen; but the secret cause of the publication has hitherto been known only to one person besides the author of this history, who must therefore now, as far as relates to this matter, bring his own agency upon the stage.

160. **PERCEVAL**, as we have seen before, in the paragraphs last alluded to, had got fixed in place in spite of all the Prince's long profession of friendship for the Whigs; and this final act of fixing him we have seen to take place on the 11th of February, 1812. It was the secret of the **BOOK** that was the cause of fixing him; and we have seen what enormous sums were expended in order to get up a few stray copies of the Book. If that book could have been got at and published at that time, there would have been an end, at once, of the power of **PERCEVAL**. The Whig faction, who knew what the secret was full well, and who had all the contents of the Book within their reach, could have published it; but, then, they would have published their own shame; and, besides, the **GRENVILLES** now made the most powerful part of that faction. **FOX** and **WIND-**

HAM were gone ; and the faction had still some lingering hope that the Prince might turn to them ; a hope which they could never entertain for a moment if they were once the cause of publishing the Book. Therefore they held their peace. But there were other men in Parliament, who though detesting PERCEVAL, had had no share in the Whig ministry or patronage when it was in power, and who were, in fact, really men of independence. These men and their conduct I shall mention presently, when I have described that which set them to work.

161. At the time when the PRINCE REGENT came into the possession of what were called his full powers, I had been, for the cause which I have mentioned in a former part of this history, in the prison of Newgate for one year and a half, and had another six months to endure of this imprisonment. When I had been in the prison about a year, Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE (brother of the EARL of DUNDONALD) with whom I had been acquainted several years, in consequence of my having defended his cause when he was, as I then deemed, and yet deem, most unjustly treated by the Government, brought to me a manuscript copy of all that part of THE BOOK which did not consist of the evidence. There was the king's warrant, the report of the four lords, and a list of the witnesses, and the *Princess's defence*. Here was quite enough for me

here it was clearly stated as a matter of charge, that the PRINCESS had had a male child, which was still alive ; and that the Lords had determined, upon the clearest evidence, that this was a false charge ; and it was also specified that the PRINCE of WALES had laid the charge before the king ; and that the king had thereupon ordered the investigation to take place. In possession of this document, which I knew to come from an authentic source, I made several copies, and so deposited them as to put them out of the reach of any possible tyrannical seizure of papers ; and, as I was very far from being certain of any spot where papers would be perfectly safe in England, I sent one copy to the United States of America by a safe hand. Thus sure of the ground upon which I stood, I, as occasion served, during the latter part of 1811, and the beginning of 1812, threw out significant hints upon the subject, every now-and-then calling for a publication of the account of the “ *delicate investigation*,” as it had been called. When the PRINCE became in possession of his full powers, those outward appearances which astonished other people, did not at all astonish me, who knew, as the public in general knew, that PERCEVAL had been the adviser of the PRINCESS.

162. Immediately after the PRINCE became in possession of his powers as aforesaid, the corporation of London met to present an address to

him. Before the arrival of the day for doing this, I had a conference with Mr. Alderman WOOD and I either showed him the documents relative to the PRINCESS, or very fully explained them to him. The Alderman, who was and is a very upright, humane and politically brave man, wished very much to have carried, in the city, an address to the PRINCESS at the same time, styling her PRINCESS REGENT; and, as I strongly urged, to observe towards her all the forms of respect and reverence due to a queen upon the exaltation of her husband. I insisted, in my public writings, on the propriety and decorum of her being permitted to hold her drawing-rooms in a like manner as her husband held his levees. Mr. WOOD found no man to second his views in the corporation of London. Those great patriots, who had made such a noise in the world, hung back here, to a man; and the Alderman, not being at that time in Parliament himself, could do nothing efficient; but, in the meanwhile, these discussions set on foot by me, and particularly the talk of an address to the PRINCESS REGENT from the city of London, excited great attention; and the people, always on the side of the PRINCESS, began loudly to demand that something should be done to draw her out from the obscurity in which she lived; for, though she had apartments in Kensington-palace, still she lived the life of a private individual: never

approached the rest of the royal family, was never mentioned in their court circulars ; and this the people thought very unjust as well as unseemly, while her husband was holding his courts with a degree of splendour before unknown, and which was of itself offensive to the main body of the people. PERCEVAL, however, thinking himself secure, not only recommended nothing to be done to make her state more honourable ; not only totally disregarded the feelings and expressions of the nation upon the subject ; but, in evil hour for him, he even went so far as to make a proposition in Parliament, which, indirectly, cast a slur upon her, the having espoused whose cause had been the sole source of all his greatness.

163. We have seen that the PRINCE came in possession of his full powers on the 11th of February, 1812. On the 23rd of March ensuing, PERCEVAL brought before the House of Commons a message from the REGENT, proposing a new grant of money for his sisters and his mother. This proposition was in itself a most odious proposition, considering the then situation of the country, loaded to the very breaking-down with taxes, and making new loans every year to the amount of not less than twenty millions of money ! The message proposed to give an additional nine thousand pounds a year to each of the PRINCESSES, amounting, in the whole, to thirty-six thousand pounds, and raising the allowance to the

Queen to fifty-eight thousand pounds a year. At the same time, there was no proposition whatever for doing anything for the PRINCESS of WALES, though the wife of the REGENT and the mother of the PRINCESS CHARLOTTE, the then heiress to the throne. The Whigs, as a faction, did not, for the reasons I have before stated, dare to make any opposition even to this. But, some men of independence, who detested PERCEVAL, did not let slip this opportunity of calling him to account. The three men who took the lead on this occasion, were CREEVEY, WHITBREAD, and TIERNEY, the two former had never been in any office at all; TIERNEY had been in office under ADDINGTON, for a short time, but had not been in office with the Whigs. They were, all three, men of considerable talent, and CREEVEY and WHITBREAD, men of good character with the public; WHITBREAD's talents were of the first order, and though a brother-in-law of Lord Grey, he had never been soiled by a touch of the public money. The attack upon PERCEVAL was begun by CREEVEY on the 23rd of March, upon PERCEVAL moving for the PRINCE's message to be taken into consideration. It would be tedious, and useless, to give an account of the arguments in this debate, the result of which was most humiliating to PERCEVAL. The speakers, and particularly WHITBREAD, pushed him home upon the subject of the BOOK, upon the subject of his having been

the PRINCESS's advocate ; and he accused him, in direct terms, of having now abandoned and betrayed her, for the purpose of ingratiating himself with her husband, and thus securing to himself power and emolument. WHITBREAD insisted that she ought to be permitted to hold her courts, unless a separation from her husband were openly proclaimed ; and that the passing her over upon this occasion, without notice, was, in effect, to proclaim to the nation that she had been found to be a guilty woman, and unworthy of enjoying the honours belonging to royalty. He finally brought it to this point : " Either she is guilty or " she is innocent ; if the former, let the minister " bring forth his charge against her, and let her " be repudiated and punished ; if the latter, let " her enjoy all the honours becoming the wife " of the reigning prince."

164. At first, PERCEVAL folded himself up, and refused to give any answer at all ; but, thus pressed by WHITBREAD and his associates, he, at last, said, " that, as for what he was bound to " do from regard to the country and his own " character, he *should always judge for himself*. " He would, however, say thus far, that, neither " in his capacity of Counsellor to her ROYAL " HIGHNESS, nor in any other character, had " he any charge against her ROYAL HIGHNESS, " *or the means of bringing forward any charge*, " and that he never meant to cast the slightest

“ reflection upon her ; and that *no separation from her husband was intended.*” Then his opponents poured on him with all their artillery ; and then came the public and the press, exclaiming, “ This is very strange : while we behold the royal pair living apart, and while there were, only the other day, rumours of separation, the counsellor of the PRINCESS and minister of the KING knows of no ground of charge against the PRINCESS ” ! “ Really,” exclaimed every one, “ as there is no charge against the REGENT’s wife, it is to be hoped that the royal spouse graciously intends her speedy return to Carlton-house, and that this is the true reason why the PRINCE does not call for a separate establishment for his wife, while he is so very attentive in adding to the means of splendour to be enjoyed by his sisters and his mother ! ”

165. On the 17th of April (allowing him very little time for rest) WHITBREAD renewed the attack upon PERCEVAL, during one of the stages of the bill for granting the enormous additional sum of money to the PRINCESSES and to the QUEEN, which, as I said before, was a measure exceedingly offensive in itself, the PRINCESSES having already allowances far too great, and the QUEEN having fifty-eight thousand pounds a year, with parks, palaces and gardens endless, and exempted from all taxes. WHITBREAD, upon this occasion, having first observed that the QUEEN

was about to hold a drawing-room, asked whether there was to be any public appearance of the PRINCESS of WALES, and he demanded, in the name of the people, why the acknowledged consort of the REGENT did not appear in public as such. He then went on to say, that THE BOOK contained an attack on the PRINCE, and that PERCEVAL was the author of that attack; and then he proceeded to ask, what in all the world could have rendered PERCEVAL so dear to his ROYAL HIGHNESS. Few men that England has ever seen could speak so ably as WHITBREAD; and, upon this occasion, he seems to have drawn forth all his shafts, and to have driven them in to the very heart, through the thick hide, of the little pale-faced lawyer. There sat PERCEVAL, without opening his lips; and without daring to open his lips, as the whole country felt. RICHARD RYDER, the brother of Lord HARROWBY, and then secretary of state, whose great versatility and plianey of talent make him now content with the office of Registrar of the Consistory Court; this RYDER spoke, not in answer to any-thing that WHITBREAD had said; but to express his hope that his right honourable Friend, Mr. PERCEVAL, would continue true to the confidence reposed in him, and that he would not be tempted by either threats or attacks, to deviate from a "*proper and respectful silence.*" This was followed by roars of laughter, and by a degree of public scorn such

as had scarcely ever been witnessed before. **PERCEVAL** said not a word ; but the public interpreted his silence into a confession that he was unable to defend himself. Further attacks were in store for him ; and, upon this occasion, I, on the 25th April, called upon him to publish the **BOOK**, telling him that his silence should avail him nothing ; that he might skulk into corners if he chose ; but that he must face the Book at last ; and I concluded the essay, which I refer to, in the following words : “ Mind, I foretel it, *face* “ *this book he must*, if he live but a few months “ longer.” The truth of the prophecy was left unascertained, for **PERCEVAL** lived only *seventeen days longer*, when his existence was terminated in the manner described in Chapter III., paragraph 126 and onwards, on the 11th of May, 1812.

166. There was no reason for **PERCEVAL**’s death putting a stop to inquiries in the House of Commons, relative to the **PRINCESS OF WALES** ; but, it did put a stop to them completely : not another word was said about her : the Whigs began again to be alive with expectation, and the latter part of the session of 1812 lingered away while those intrigues were going on with Lords **GREY**, **GRENVILLE**, **WELLESLEY**, and the impudent spouter, **CANNING**, as mentioned in the last Chapter, paragraph 135 to 140 inclusive. The Whig faction, mixed up with the **GREN-**

VILLES, as I have before observed, were kept curiously amused until the end of the session of 1812. From that time to the opening of the next, the subject lay dormant: there were no meetings of the people any-where: there was nothing to create an occasion for making a stir upon the subject: the people thought a good deal about it; but still there was no opportunity for putting the thing in motion. The Parliament met on the 30th of November, 1812. None of the members appeared to recollect any-thing about the poor PRINCESS; but, on the 14th of January, she was advised to write a long letter to the PRINCE REGENT, in which she recapitulated her various wrongs, and grievously complained of the injury done to her character by almost wholly cutting off all communication between her and her daughter. She complained that the interviews between them were at first limited to once a week, then to once a fortnight, and that she learned that even this interdiction was now about to be more rigidly enforced. She observed that every mother would make the case her own, and would naturally conclude, that, to justify this separation of the mother from the child, the mother must be bad. She complained, that, while there was no charge existing against her, no accuser to be found; yet she was treated as if she were still more culpable than the perjuries of her *suborned traducers* had represented her, and held up to the

world as a mother who was unfit to be in company with her child.

167. The PRINCESS had not a mind, this time, that her advisers should betray her. She, therefore, having sent her letter to the PRINCE, and having received no answer at the end of a couple of days or so, sent the letter to the press; and if she had done that in 1807, she would never have had a trial in 1820, and, in all probability, would have been, at this day, alive and happy in England. The publication of the letter of the wife compelled the husband to bestir himself. She called for investigation: she said, "Prove me guilty, or treat me as innocent." He chose to do neither, but issued an order to the Privy Council, a committee of whom were to report to him on the subject. They met and reported to him, and their report was that it was right that the intercourse between the mother and the daughter should continue to be restricted as it then was, and that there was no foundation for the assertion, implied in the letter, that the PRINCE had suborned the traducers. This committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Archbishops of CANTERBURY, YORK, and ARMAGH, the Lord Chancellor ELDON, Lords HARROWBY, WESTMORELAND, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, BATHURST, LIVERPOOL, MULGRAVE, MELVILLE, SIDMOUTH, ELLENBOROUGH, the Bishop of LONDON, ABBOTT the Sweaker, VANSITTART,

CHARLES BATHURST, Sir WM. GRANT, Sir ARCHIBALD M'DONALD, Sir WM. SCOTT, and Sir JOHN NICHOL; this bunch reported to the PRINCE, in substance, that he had had nothing to do in the suborning of Douglas and his wife, and that he did very right in keeping the mother and the daughter separated from one another; and, on the 23rd of February, they made this report, a copy of which was communicated to the PRINCESS. While these transactions were passing, it became manifest to me that the PRINCESS had no real friends in the Parliament; and that the affair would at last be smothered, unless something were done to cause the publication of the whole BOOK. There was yet no part of the particulars of the charge against the PRINCESS before the public, who had heard nothing, as yet, about the *birth of the male child*; and this was always carefully kept out of sight by all those, who took the affair up from apparent friendship for the PRINCESS. It was to get out this story about the male child that I had so long been wanting; and this story was now brought out in the following manner.

168. Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE lived in London at this time, and he had recently been returned a member for a Cornish borough. Whether he wrote to me, who lived then at Botley in Hampshire, or I wrote to him, upon the subject, I do not now recollect; but in the latter

part of the month of February, I came up to him for the express purpose of stirring in this matter. The PRINCESS's letter to the REGENT had been published, but the report of the Privy Council to him upon the subject had not been published when I came up to London. I arrived on the 24th of February, and held a consultation with Mr. JOHNSTONE as to how we should go to work. We were perfectly convinced that the Whigs would not stir an inch except for some selfish purpose of their own. We wanted the exposure, in the first place, from a love of justice, from a desire to see this injured lady righted; and, in the next place, for the purpose of making the people see what deeds this government was capable of. We were contending, along with millions of others, for a restoration of the people's rights; and we were convinced that an exposure of this whole matter would tend greatly to weaken those by whom those rights were withheld. Dispatch, however, was necessary, to us, for there was a petition against the return of Mr. JOHNSTONE, by which we expected that he would be ousted from his seat, an event which shortly after happened. Mr. Alderman WOOD was not then in Parliament, and there was not a man in that House that we knew any-thing of that would have made any move whatsoever upon the subject. The object was to get THE BOOK published whole and entire; and the way to do this was to

make it worse for the enemies of the PRINCESS to keep it unpublished than to publish it. To work we went, then, drew up two resolutions to be moved by Mr. JOHNSTONE ; and, in one of the last days of February, he gave notice in his place, that, on the fourth of March, he would move the resolutions, which he did, in the words hereafter to be stated. But, now observe, the PRINCESS OF WALES, seeing this notice of motion before the House of Commons, resolved to appeal to the House herself before the motion should come on ; nay, to appeal to both Houses, to the Speaker of each of which she, on the first of March, enclosed a letter in the following words :

“ Montague House, Blackheath, March 1, 1813.

“ The Princess of Wales informs Mr. Speaker that she has
 “ received from Lord Viscount Sidmouth a copy of a report
 “ made in pursuance of the orders of his Royal Highness the
 “ Prince Regent, by certain members of His Majesty’s most
 “ honourable Privy Council, to whom it appears, that h’s
 “ Royal Highness had been advised to refer certain docu-
 “ ments and other evidence respecting the character and con-
 “ duct of her Royal Highness. — The report is of such a
 “ nature that her Royal Highness feels persuaded no person
 “ can read it without being sensible of the aspersions which it
 “ casts upon her ; and although it is *so vague as to render it*
 “ *impossible to discover the tenor of the charge*, yet as her Royal
 “ Highness is conscious of no offence, she feels it due to her-
 “ self, to the illustrious houses to which she is connected by
 “ blood and marriage, and to the people among whom she holds
 “ so distinguished a rank, not to acquiesce for a single mo-
 “ ment in any imputation affecting her honour.—The Prin-
 “ cess of Wales has not been permitted to know on what evi-
 “ dence the members of the Privy Council proceeded in their

"investigation ; nor has her Royal Highness been allowed
"to be heard in her own defence. She knew only by com-
"mon rumour that such an inquiry had been instituted, until
"the result was communicated to her in the form of the report.
"She knows not whether she is to consider the members of
"the Privy Council by whom her conduct has been inquired
"into, as a body, to whom she would be authorised to apply
"for redress, or in their individual capacity, as persons se-
"lected to make the report on her conduct. —The Princess of
"Wales is therefore compelled to throw herself on the wis-
"dom and justice of Parliament, and she earnestly desires a
"full investigation of her conduct during the whole period
"of her residence in this country. Her Royal Highness
"fears no scrutiny, however strict, provided it be conducted
"by impartial judges, and in a fair and open manner, accord-
"ing to law.—It is her Royal Highness's wish either to be
"treated as innocent, or to be proved guilty.—Her Royal
"Highness desires that this letter may be communicated to
"the House of Commons."

169. The LORD CHANCELLOR, who is the Speaker of the House of Lords, sent her letter back twice, without taking any notice of it. The Speaker of the House of Commons, who got the letter on the Monday, not having laid it before the House, received on the Tuesday, a copy of the letter from her ROYAL HIGHNESS, which she requested to be read to the House that very day. The Speaker, ABBOTT, after a very poor apology, and in great apparent embarrassment, read the letter on the second of March. The House seemed astounded : the reporters stated that an *awful silence* of some minutes ensued. This silence was broken by WHITBREAD, who asked the ministers, in a very

significant manner, what *they* had to say upon the subject. After a considerable pause CASTLE-REAGH observed, that as Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE had given notice of a motion on the subject of the PRINCESS, he did not think it necessary now to say any-thing on what had taken place.

170. The public curiosity as well as indignation were now at their height. They had not seen all; but they had seen enough to convince them that the PRINCESS had been treated with unheard-of cruelty and injustice, and that she had been sacrificed again and again on the merciless altar of political intrigue.

171. On the 5th of March, Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE moved the two resolutions in the following words:

1.—Resolved, That, from the disputes touching the succession to the throne, bitter public animosities, tumultuous contentions, long and bloody civil wars, have, at various periods of the history of this kingdom, arisen, causing great misery to the good people thereof, grief and affliction to the Royal family, and in some cases exclusion of the rightful heir.—That, therefore, loyalty and affection towards the Sovereign, and a just regard to the happiness of the people, call upon every subject of this realm, and upon this House more especially, to neglect nothing within their power to prevent the recurrence of similar calamities from a similar cause.—That it has been stated to this House by a member thereof, who has offered to prove the same by witnesses, at the bar of this House, that, in the year 1806, a commission was issued under his Majesty's Royal sign manual, authorizing and directing the then Lord Chancellor Erskine, Earl Spencer, the then secretary of state for the home department, Lord Grenville, the then first lord of

the Treasury, and the then and present Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, to inquire into the truth of certain written declarations, communicated to his Majesty by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.—That the said commissioners, in pursuance of the said authority and direction, did enter into an examination of several witnesses, and that they delivered to his Majesty a report of such examination, and also of their judgment of the several parts alleged against Her Royal Highness, which report, signed by the four commissioners aforesaid, and dated on the 14th of July, 1806, was accompanied with copies of the declarations, examinations, depositions, and other documents on which it was founded.—That it has been stated to this House, in manner aforesaid that the said written accusations against her Royal Highness expressly asserted, “that her Royal Highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her Royal Highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.” That the report further stated, that the commissioners “first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife, who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her Royal Highness, and the other to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and before referred to,” and that the report added, “that the examinations are annexed to the report, and are circumstantial and positive.”—That the commissioners, after the above statements, proceeded in their said report to state to his Majesty that they thought it their duty to examine other witnesses as to the facts in question, and that they stated, as the result of such farther examination, “their perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the Princess is the child of her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in 1802, or that she was pregnant in that year,” and that the commissioners added, “that this was their clear and unani-

mous judgment, formed upon full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole inquiry."—That the noble Lords composing the commission aforesaid had not, and could not, in that capacity, have any legal power to pronounce a judgment or decision in the case; that the matter of charge submitted to them as a subject of inquiry amounted to a charge of high treason, a crime known to the laws, and therefore triable only in a known court of justice; that if, as justices of the peace (a character belonging to them as privy councillors), they were competent to receive informations and take examinations regarding the conduct of her Royal Highness, they had no legal power in that capacity, nor in any other capacity that could be given to them, to pronounce an acquittal or a condemnation upon the charge referred to them; for that, to admit them to have been competent to acquit, is to admit them competent to have found guilty, and this would be to admit their competence to have sent her Royal Highness to an ignominious death, in virtue of a decision founded on selected *ex parte* evidence, taken before a secret tribunal. That the whole report, as far as it relates to the judgment of the commissioners (if the making of it be not an unlawful act), is at least of no legal validity, and, in the eye of the law, leaves the question of the guilt or innocence of her Royal Highness where the commissioners first found it; that the depositions and examinations upon oath (supposing the commissioners to have taken them in their capacity of justices of the peace) possess a legal character; but that no legal decision has yet been made upon any of the important facts stated in these depositions and examinations, and that it has not yet been legally decided that the fact positively sworn to, of Her Royal Highness having been delivered of a male child in the year 1802, is not true.—That in any claim to the succession to the throne, which, by possibility, at least, may hereafter be set up, by any aspiring personage possessed of great power, the circumstantial and positive evidence of Sir John Douglas, and of Charlotte his wife, if again called for, would still retain all its legal character and weight, while it might happen, that the evidence on the other

side might, from death or other causes, be found deficient; and that there can be no doubt that if it should hereafter be made to appear, that the facts sworn to by Lady Douglas are true, and if the identity of the male child so born should be proved, he would be the legal heir to the throne, notwithstanding any assertions, or any proofs, relating to the alleged illicit intercourse of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.—That, therefore, the honour of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, the sacred right of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, the safety of the throne, and the tranquillity of the country, do all unite, in a most imperious call on this House, to institute now, while the witnesses on both sides are still living, and while all the charges are capable of being clearly established, or clearly disproved, an ample and impartial investigation of all the allegations, facts, and circumstances appertaining to this most important subject of inquiry.

II.—Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent requesting, that His Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to order, that a copy of a report made to his Majesty on the 14th day of July, 1806, by the then Lord Chancellor Erskine, Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, be laid before the House, together with the copies of the following written documents annexed to the report, namely—
[Here followed a list of the documents.]

172. It will be observed, that the numerous facts stated in the first resolution, and also that the list of documents, mostly a statement of the evidence of the witnesses that had been examined by the four lords, and which were thirty-three in number, had been furnished us by that part of the Book which COLONEL JOHNSTONE had obtained in manuscript, and which we had had in our possession for a year and a half, but which

we did not dare publish, and of which we did not dare state the substance, unless it were first stated in some document printed by order of the House of Commons or House of Lords. No matter for the truth of the facts; there was a law of libel to be made to fit us, and, in fact, there was no stating the facts even; there was no speaking to the people about the matter, except in the shape of resolutions or documents of some sort, emanating from the Houses of Parliament. Rotten boroughs have been very wicked things, and have done mischief enormous; but upon this occasion, one of them gave Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE the power of doing, in the space of a few days, more real good to the country than I have ever known any other member of Parliament do, or, indeed, than any other member of Parliament has, perhaps, had the power of doing, in an equal number of years. For here was the whole story now come to light; here was the charge of pregnancy and delivery plainly stated; and here was laid the ground for an investigation of some sort; or, at the very least, for a publication of THE BOOK, which, as long as paper and print would last, must continue to hand down from generation to generation the true character of those who had been concerned in these atrocious transactions.

173. When the motion was made by Mr. JOHNSTONE, a very great consternation was produced in the House of Commons. He stated his

reasons very clearly, though briefly, and insisted that it was the duty of the Parliament to adopt the resolutions and to act upon them. The motion was seconded by Mr. JOHN WHARTON. The Ministers opposed the motion, upon the ground that there was no necessity for inquiry. Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY, who had been solicitor-general to the PRINCE, and also solicitor-general under the Whigs, let out, that he had been chief adviser of the PRINCE in the case of the investigation; but he excited great discontent with his conduct by his not accounting for the non-prosecution of DOUGLAS and his wife, both of whom had sworn positively to the pregnancy, and the latter even to the delivery. WHITBREAD, who was a friend of ROMILLY, shifted very adroitly from his point; but the public asked this of ROMILLY: Did Lady DOUGLAS swear to the pregnancy and the delivery? Was she not proved to be perjured? To both these questions he answered, *Yes*; but, when it was put to him why he did not indict her for perjury, he answered that that arose from circumstances *which he did not think proper to explain!* He maintained that there was a legal competency to indict her for perjury; he allowed that she had sworn falsely before a competent tribunal; but he would not tell why she was not indicted for perjury. The end of Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY was very melancholy and awful; but, in contemplating that end, just men

could not overlook this transaction. The Whigs acted a very curious part. Mr. PONSONBY, brother-in-law of Lord GREY and the then late Lord CHANCELLOR of Ireland, opposed the motion of Mr. JOHNSTONE, and deprecated all attempts to get into power, by exciting family feuds and dissensions. Even WHITBREAD, before the debate had concluded, recommended, in a sideway manner, a withdrawing of the motion. CANNING observed that the acknowledgements of innocence made during the debate had rendered further proceedings unnecessary. An amendment had been proposed to leave out the first resolution and adopt the second. YORKE expressed his hope, that the mover would withdraw his motion; Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE declined to assent to the amendment or to withdraw the resolution, and said that though defeated in that House, he considered that as the proudest day of his life. This debate took place on the 5th of March: it having been put off from the fourth to the fifth; and, in ten days from that time, THE BOOK was printed and published, and to be bought in all the book-shops in London! Never was indignation equal to that which was excited by the publication of this book, which was the subject of conversation in every tavern, in every coffee-house, in every ale-house, and by every fire-side.

174. Now came the time for the *people to*

show themselves, and, in a regular constitutional way, to express their determination to support the Princess, and also to express their abhorrence of her persecutors. I have before observed on the laudable endeavours of Mr. Alderman WOOD, in February and March the year before, when the Prince came into possession of his full powers. Now, however, there remained no difficulty; now, every doubt was cleared away; now was a proper occasion for the people to assemble and to express their sentiments and determinations upon the subject. The people had not, indeed, the power to punish her traducers; they had not the power to re-place her in Carlton-house; they had not the power to give her admission to her daughter; but they had the power to show to all the world, and to that daughter in particular, that they themselves had not lost the character left them by their fathers; that they were lovers of justice, and haters of false accusers and cowardly and cruel persecutors.

175. THE BOOK having circulated amongst the public for about a week, I thought it high time that the people of London and Westminster should begin to stir; and so thought my friend Mr. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE. The people themselves were everywhere calling for meetings, in order to present addresses to the PRINCESS; but, in such cases, there always must be somebody to take the lead. I lived at seventy miles

from London, and had no place of abode in either city, and had not then been compelled to be a liveryman of London. Mr. JOHNSTONE lived neither in London nor in Westminster, and had little or no connexion with either. Thus situated, we resorted to the great patriot and friend of humanity and justice, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT; and, not a little to our surprise, found him, not only very cold upon the subject, but decidedly against the calling of the people of Westminster together for the purpose of addressing the PRINCESS! Upset by this coldness of the baronet, I was for giving the matter up, as far as related to Westminster; but Mr. JOHNSTONE, who, in the first place, never gave any-thing up for a trifle, and who had more acquaintance with the springs and wires that move people in high life than I had, suggested that we should wait upon the late Lady OXFORD, who was said to espouse warmly the cause of the PRINCESS, and who was also said (at least, as Mr. JOHNSTONE so understood) to have considerable influence with our slow-blooded and suddenly-become prudent baronet. Her Ladyship made us no promise to exert any influence that she might possess with the torpid patriot; but delighted us exceedingly by her brilliant and hearty conversation, and by the indignation which she expressed at the treatment of the PRINCESS. Leaving, for a few days, the baronet to recover himself from his torpor, I returned to him singly,

in the hope of prevailing upon him to have the meeting called ; or, at the least, to find out the reasons that made him so backward in the business. I could do neither ; but I found that he was immovable, giving for the only answer, that there was no power any-where sufficient to get justice for the PRINCESS ; and that she must continue to endure patiently, and then "like the anvil, she would outlive the hostility of the hammer" ; a figure the most completely expressive of the blessings of passive obedience and non-resistance that I had ever heard in my whole life, and that has never been effaced from my memory.

176. From this gentleman, I went back to Mr. JOHNSTONE's, who lived in Alsop's-buildings, in the New-road ; and, walking out into the garden where I understood he was, there I found with him Mr. Alderman WOOD. "O !" said I to myself, "this is not a man of the anvil." In short, the Alderman had resolved now to put into execution his intention of the year before, which the opposition of WAITHMAN, FAVELL, and other patriots had then defeated. He told us that the opposition to his intention was, and from the same parties, still as great as it had been before ; but that he was resolved to appeal from the patriots to the livery ; and that his business with me was to request that I would draw up a proper address to the PRINCESS to be presented to her at Kensington Palace, which I

at once agreed to do, and did it accordingly. This makes no deduction whatsoever from the merit of Mr. WOOD in this case, any more than it deducts from the merit of a king, when he adopts and utters a speech which has been written by his Minister. It was Mr. WOOD's own intention and undertaking; and I was only his secretary in putting the expression of his sentiments into words; I being more able in that respect than the Alderman was; and he having the good sense to perceive this, and not being cursed with that self-conceit which would have made him ashamed of receiving assistance so useful.

177. Far was this from being the case with some of those who belonged to the Corporation of London, and who had generally co-operated with him in his public proceedings, and particularly in those proceedings which had the object of a parliamentary reform in view. Amongst these persons there was a common-councilman, named ROBERT WAITHMAN, a man, who, for many years, had taken a conspicuous part in the politics of the city; a man not destitute of the powers of utterance, and a man of sound principles also; but a man so enveloped, so completely swallowed up by self-conceit, that, though perfectly illiterate, though unable to give to three consecutive sentences a grammatical construction, seemed to look upon himself as the first orator, the first writer, and the first statesman of

the whole world. Of nothing that did not originate with himself; of nothing in which any other man took the lead; of no resolution or motion into which this haberdasher had not put his pen, did he ever approve, and did he ever not mar, or endeavour to mar. Mr. WOOD having been the first proposer of an address to the PRINCESS, and especially his having determined upon an address which had not been written by WAITHMAN, and into which he had not been suffered to put his pen; for I had made that a condition with Mr. WOOD: these circumstances were quite enough to ensure the opposition of WAITHMAN, who, besides, had a sort of sinister leaning towards, and had a pretty constant understanding with, the faction called the Whigs, who wished by all means to prevent this address, and who, doubtless, urged him on to his opposition. WAITHMAN had long been the Cock of the democratic party in the city; he was a great speech-maker, could make very free with facts; and, when it suited his purpose, could resort to as foul play as most men; and WOOD, not being gifted in the like manner, the former made no doubt of his triumph, the anticipation of which was full of malignity of heart; for it was this address, or the failure of this address, which would manifestly give the tone to the whole kingdom upon this important subject. Upon the conduct of such trifling individuals do great events sometimes turn!

178. Conceit and malignity met, however, in this case, with their signal and most appropriate punishment. The Common Hall consists of the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, the Common Councilmen, and the Livery. Upon this occasion, the hall, which contains many thousands of persons, was, nevertheless, exceedingly crowded, though the Lord Mayor had done everything in his power to keep the intended meeting from the knowledge of the public. Mr. WOOD having, in a short speech, moved the address, it was opposed by three Aldermen of the Tory faction, one of whom moved an *adjournment*; this proposition was received with most clamorous disapprobation. This might have been a warning to WAITHMAN; but his inordinate conceit overpowered his prudence; he did not, however, put himself forward as the leader in the making of a proposition to throw aside the address, and to pass a mere resolution in its place. In order to effect this purpose, he put forward a Liveryman of the name of STURCH, who lived in Westminster, who had long been the political tool of BURDETT in that city, and who was, doubtless, sent into the city of London upon this occasion to assist WAITHMAN in the defeating of WOOD; because BURDETT, having refused to call a meeting in Westminster, was naturally anxious to prevent the success of such a meeting in the city. What plotting, what intriguing, what baseness, from

the very highest to the very lowest, was put in practice against this unfortunate woman !

179. This STURCH was an ironmonger, a man of fair character, of demure demeanour, and not wholly incapable of making a plausible statement, and urging plausible reasons. He argued that the discussion of the subject was premature ; that it was not ripe for discussion ; that it was not a subject for a Common Hall to discuss ; but having said that the Livery would *degrade themselves* by passing the vote, he was assailed with marks of disapprobation so strong and so vehement, as to induce his friend WAITHMAN to step forward and beg the Livery to behave with impartiality towards *his excellent friend*, who had so long laboured for the people in Westminster, who was now delivering the sentiments of a well-informed mind, and who now ought to be listened to with respect. After this, STURCH concluded by speaking of the danger that was to be feared from this injudicious proceeding, and by urging the necessity of waiting, at least, until an additional light had been thrown upon the mysterious and painful subject.

180. Then came WAITHMAN, who began by saying that he had endeavoured to persuade WOOD from persevering in his motion. He very soon discovered that the Livery had seen through his motives ; and, which was quite new to him, he was met with a clamorous "*No ! no !*" He

testily observed, that his *opinions might be worth nothing* in comparison with those of many gentlemen who now express their disapprobation. He then checked himself; endeavoured to recover his ground; floundered about; got some applause by talking about rotten boroughs and parliamentary reform; but having seized this opportunity to return to the address, and to propose that it should be turned into a resolution, he was received with "*No, no; the address, the address!*" which appears to have stung him to the quick; his face, which was none of the whitest, seemed to have assumed a ten times darker die. His look was furious, while he uttered the words: "I am sorry that my *well-weighed* opinions are "in opposition to the general sentiment *so hastily adopted*; but I hope that the Livery will "consider the necessity of preserving its character for *purity and wisdom*."

181. The Cock crowed in vain; Mr. WOOD refused to make any alteration in his motion; WAITHMAN attempted to address the Hall again, but in vain; the motion was carried almost unanimously, and the address was agreed to in the following words:—

TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF
WALES.

*The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and
Livery, of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled.*

May it please your Royal Highness,

We, His Majesty's loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Alder-

men, and Livery, of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, bearing in mind those sentiments of profound veneration and ardent affection with which we hailed the arrival of your Royal Highness in this country, humbly beseech your Royal Highness to receive our assurances, that in the hearts of the citizens of London those sentiments have never experienced diminution or change.

Deeply interested in every event connected with the stability of the throne of this kingdom, under the sway of the House of Brunswick; tenderly alive to every circumstance affecting the personal welfare of every branch of that illustrious House, we have felt indignation and abhorrence inexpressible, upon the disclosure of that foul and detestable conspiracy which, by perjured and suborned traducers, has been carried on against your Royal Highness's honour and life.

The veneration for the laws, the moderation, the forbearance, the frankness, the magnanimity, which your Royal Highness has so eminently displayed under circumstances so trying, and during a persecution of so long a duration; these, while they demand an expression of our unbounded applause, cannot fail to excite in us a confident hope, that under the sway of your illustrious and beloved daughter, our children will enjoy all the benefits of so bright an example; and we humbly beg permission most unfeignedly to assure your Royal Highness that, as well for the sake of our country as from a sense of justice and of duty, we shall always feel, and be ready to give proof of, the most anxious solicitude for your Royal Highness's health, prosperity, and happiness.

182. But the carrying of the address was nothing, in point of effect upon the Government and country, compared with the presenting of it to the PRINCESS, which was to take place, at Kensington Palace, to which the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, the Sheriffs, and a hundred of the Livery, were to go in the state carriages. They would have to go four miles through the most

populous and showy parts of London and Westminster, and close by the palace in which the PRINCE REGENT resided. A message had been sent to the PRINCESS to know when she would be pleased to receive the address. When the appointed day had arrived, all the streets leading from the Guildhall to Carlton House were lined with anxious spectators ; but the Lord Mayor, who was a poor creature, had privately ordered the procession to proceed up Holborn, along Oxford-road, across Hyde-park, and thus to Kensington Palace ; thus missing the splendid part of the two cities, and avoiding the palace of the REGENT. When the procession came back, however, this supple magistrate received his due punishment ; the procession came back by the way of Knightsbridge, and entered Piccadilly. Thus far the Lord Mayor had yielded to the almost direct force of the people ; but when he came to Park-lane, he ordered his carriage to turn up, in defiance of the cries "*To Carlton House ! to Carlton House !*" which burst from all quarters. The two Sheriffs followed him. They were in their state carriages also ; but the gold gilding and the mace and the sword of state did not protect them from the strongest marks of indignation from the people, who groaned, hissed, and pelted their carriages with mud as long as they were in view. The remain-

ing part of the procession, at the head of which was the carriage of Mr. Alderman WOOD, proceeded along Piccadilly, down St James's-street, into Pall-mall, and by the Prince's palace of Carlton House, opposite which the people groaned, hissed, and uttered other expressions of disapprobation.

183. These details, unimportant in themselves, are of the last importance as descriptive of the feelings of the people, and as tending to elucidate future proceedings and events. Important in all respects as this proceeding was, it was particularly important to Mr. Alderman WOOD. The discussion of the matter in the Common Hall and his resolute conduct there, had justly given him, in the opinion of the whole nation, the merit of this brilliant affair, which gave so heavy a blow to both the political factions, and which in effect gave the reformers an advantage over those factions which they had never possessed before. The horses were taken from WOOD's carriage, which was drawn to the palace by the people; the PRINCESS treated him with particular marks of her attention, placed him by her side, and conversed with him for a considerable time: on his return, the people again supplied the place of the Alderman's horses; he was cheered and applauded with enthusiasm not to be described; and it at once became the universal opinion

that he was the great friend and protector of the PRINCESS, an opinion, too, which was no more than his just due.

184. The answer which the PRINCESS gave to the address, which was in the following words, will be found to be well written, and extremely well adapted to the occasion ; and the expression of her gratitude to the City of London was well calculated to ensure her the support of that city in future.

I thank you for your loyal and affectionate address. It is to me the greatest consolation to learn, that during so many years of unmerited persecution, notwithstanding the active and persevering dissemination of the most deliberate calumnies against me, the kind and favourable sentiments with which they did me the honour to approach me on my arrival in this country, have undergone neither diminution nor change in the hearts of the citizens of London.

The sense of indignation and abhorrence you express against the foul and detestable conspiracy which by perjured and suborned traducers has been carried on against my life and honour, is worthy of you, and most gratifying to me. It must be duly appreciated by every branch of that illustrious House with which I am so closely connected by blood and marriage ; the personal welfare of every one of whom must have been affected by the success of such atrocious machinations.

The consciousness of my innocence has supported me through my long, severe, and unmerited trials ; your approbation of my conduct under them is a reward for all my sufferings.

I shall not lose any opportunity I may be permitted to enjoy, of encouraging the talents and virtues of my dear daughter, the Princess Charlotte ; and I shall impress upon her mind

my full sense of the obligation conferred upon me by this spontaneous act of your justice and generosity.

She will therein clearly perceive the value of that free Constitution which, in the natural course of events, it will be her high destiny to preside over, and her sacred duty to maintain, which allows no one to sink under oppression ; and she will ever be bound to the city of London in ties proportioned to the strength of that filial attachment I have had the happiness uniformly to experience from her.

Be assured, that the cordial and convincing proof you have thus given of your solicitude for my prosperity and happiness, will be cherished in grateful remembrance by me to the latest moment of my life ; and the distinguished proceeding adopted by the first city of this great empire, will be considered by posterity as a proud memorial of my vindicated honour.

185. The reader will easily imagine that all this was wormwood at Carlton House. The effect which it would produce upon the country had been clearly foreseen, and, therefore, every wheel had been put in motion to prevent it : STURCH, WAITHMAN, the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs ; every engine had been set in movement to prevent this effect : they all failed, however : the other cities, beginning with the city of Rochester, followed the example of the city of London : the whole country was roused in favour of the PRINCESS, and filled with indignation against her persecutors. And, the reader is now going to see two most striking proofs of the effect of a good beginning. The Common Council of the city of London are the representatives of the Livery, and this Court consists of Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Com-

mon-councilmen. This body frequently acts independently of the Livery. They may present addresses in which the Livery do not join, and in which they are not called upon to join. In some cases the bodies meet separately, each presenting, upon the same subject, its own petition or address. WAITHMAN, who was the old Cock of the Common Council, after this brilliant affair of Kensington Palace, could not rest till he too had got some little share of the clappings and huzzas ; and therefore a Common Council *was called for the purpose not of passing a resolution* upon the subject, but for the purpose of agreeing to an address ; and, which would astonish any one not acquainted with the character and motives of this man, *he himself was the mover of this very address*, which was also presented to the PRINCESS by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-councilmen ; amongst whom was WAITHMAN, who, *as mover of the address*, was formally introduced to her Royal Highness, whose hand he very dutifully *kissed* ! But this was a dull affair compared with the former ; the assemblage of the persons comparatively small, the carriage, in which WAITHMAN was, the horses were suffered to drag quietly along the street ; every one in London duly appreciated his conduct ; and as to the country, this proceeding of the Common Council had not the smallest effect, the whole effect having been produced before.

186. Now, too, came forth my man of the "*Anvil*," Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, the member for Westminster, who, the reader will remember, had refused to promote a meeting in that city. He had, even at this time, by the means of his various intrigues and his tools, nearly extinguished all active public spirit in that city; but it was a little too much to suffer Alderman WOOD to carry off all the glory of this great exploit; and, after long hesitation; after putting the thing off as long as possible, a meeting in Westminster was called, at which also an address was passed which was also to be presented to the PRINCESS at Kensington Palace. The torpid and mortified Baronet did not, however, appear at the meeting, but he sent to be read at the meeting a long letter, stating that he was confined by illness, at which he was "*exceedingly mortified*"; but in which he expressed his hearty approbation of the object of the meeting; and pledged himself to support the cause of the injured PRINCESS with all his might. This was the very man, who, but a few weeks before, had expressed his determination to have nothing to do with the matter; had told me and Mr. JOHNSTONE, that there was no-where any power to get justice for the PRINCESS; and that, like the anvil under the hammer, she must continue patiently to endure!

187. It is curious to observe, and it is pleasant to observe, the power which talent, zeal

and honesty have over stupidity and insincerity, however closely associated with impudence or cunning. Here was I, the writer of this history, filling no public capacity, having no direct power, possessing no influence derived from personal connexions or from weight of purse ; having not the means of getting a meeting called, or an address proposed, by any direct influence of mine, any more than I have the power of causing this Island to be moved farther to the north, or farther to the south. Yet it was really I that put all these beings into motion ; and compelled them in fact to do the things which they did, even against their own inclination ; and while they were cursing and swearing at the idea of being mere tools in my hands, such tools they were, though they knew it, and though they knew that I knew it too !

188. In this case I always except Mr. WOOD ; for he made the proposition to me, or at least, he came to me for the purpose. But the bringing out of the BOOK, which led to all these proceedings, was solely my work ; it originated in my mind ; and I scorn to disguise, that I was actuated partly by recollecting that the Prince had received *my thousand pounds fine*. It is good that men in power should know that those who suffer from their acts, have *memories* ; and that they have not to expect from them indulgence in return for severities. Men seldom act from motives wholly unmixed. Mr. JOHNSTONE and

I had both our severities to complain of: the PRINCE REGENT had refused him what he deemed, and what I deemed, bare justice; and he had got my thousand pounds. When, therefore, we sat down, looking at each other across the table, and stating our complaints; and when he said to me, let us do something, now, before I be turned out of my seat, I answered, "Do! what can *we* do? We have no more power than those two cats which are sitting there before the fire. What is our railing worth? No-body will listen to us; and as to the PRINCE REGENT, he thinks less of us than any two flies that he sees buzzing about his horses. Petitions and memorials from us are only so much paper for the clerks in the offices to take home for their wives to singe their stale fowls with. If, indeed, we *could set his wife in motion*, she might do something for us in time." "God!" said he, "don't you recollect the '*delicate investigation*,' and the manuscript papers which I brought you when you were in Newgate?" I recollected them very well, and had a copy safe at home. In a few months after this conversation between us, the transactions took place which I had mentioned in paragraph 168.

189. Some one will say: Is this what you call writing history? Yes, this is real history: it is tracing great events to their causes; it is diving

down to the springs of action : it is showing men what they could not know without reading of, or hearing of, what is here said : it is conveying facts that will stick to the memory ; it is teaching those who have power, that those on whom they exercise that power, are not always destitute of the means of obtaining justice at last, in one shape or another. It is showing, that, however physical force may prevail for awhile, it is the mind which will prevail at last ; and where is the young man, who will not be amused and instructed at seeing this STURCH and WAITHMAN and BURDETT and his creatures, and their like all over the country, set in motion, and made to dance and to gabble just as I pulled the wires, though they envied and hated me from the bottom of their souls ; though they knew how I laughed at seeing their capers, and hearing their gibberish ; though they knew that they were my tools, and that I knew it too ! Far, however, was this from being sport with the Government, and at Carlton House ; it produced prodigious uneasiness there, and the more uneasiness because it furnished no handle *for taking vengeance on the parties* who caused the uneasiness. There could be no prosecution for libel here ; there were ELLENBOROUGH and GIBBS, with hearts as good and with fangs as strong and as sharp as ever. There were the whole tribe of oppressors, just as keen as eve for imputing sedition to writers and

printers ; and they could, too, clearly see the motive and the tendency of the things that were written and printed ; and yet, while they ground their teeth at the parties they could not bite, they could not prosecute men as libellers for praising the wife of the REGENT ; for defending her ; for maintaining that she was innocent ; for expressing contempt, detestation, and abhorrence of her persecutors ; for calling her accusers *perjured* and suborned ; because she herself under her own name asserted them to have been suborned ; and because we had it under the hands of the commissioners, that they had taken false oaths before a tribunal competent to receive those oaths. They could not prosecute men for publishing addresses, presented by corporate bodies to one of the royal family ; still less could they think of prosecuting the answers of that royal personage to those addresses. Yet, to publish these addresses, was all that we, the reformers, wished to be able to do : it was a formidable mode of attacking the system which we wished to change : we had the most deadly weapons placed in our hands by the PRINCESS ; or, rather, by her stupid persecutors themselves ; but, at the same time, we were covered with armour that rendered us completely invulnerable, though we had to deal with the most sharp-sighted, most cunning, and most cruel set of men that ever wielded the scourge of power ;

men who missed no opportunity of inflicting punishment for offences, as they called them, which tended to excite a suspicion of the purity of the Government ; or, in other words, tended towards producing that parliamentary reform, which they knew must deprive them of the large emoluments which they received out of the purses of the people.

190. They did not fail to show their anger upon every occasion that presented itself, while the reformers on their side made their mortification as great as possible. The nation was now divided into two parties ; the Reformers on one side, and the Whig and Tory factions on the other side ; for, though hating one another as rivals for the public money, in that only were they rivals, always uniting most cordially against the people ; and especially against every one who laboured to effect a diminution of their emoluments. These emoluments formed a tree loaded with golden fruit : these factions fought like Greek and Trojan *for the tree* ; but whoever aimed at the destruction of the tree itself, they regarded as a common enemy, and united most heartily against him.

191. The mortification of the PRINCE REGENT and the Government, showed itself in a very striking manner, by the refusal of the Secretary of State to cause to be published in the LONDON GAZETTE the address of the Common Hall, and

the answer of the PRINCESS. This Gazette is published weekly, under the authority of the Secretary of State. It sends forth all official documents; especially all documents relating to public transactions with which the royal family is connected. It is, in short, the record of historical facts, placed in an authentic form, and sent forth under the authority of the Government; and it had contained every address and every answer of this description for a great number of years. In the case of the city of London, such documents had invariably been inserted in the Gazette, upon being transmitted to the office by an officer of the city, called the Remembrancer. Upon this occasion, these documents were not inserted; but, Mr. WOOD was not a man to see this slight cast upon his address without exposing the spitefulness of the cause. The City Remembrancer was instructed to apply to the writer of the Gazette to be informed of the cause of the omission; he received for answer, that the Secretary of State, through whom he always received such documents, had not transmitted these to him for insertion. Upon this the Remembrancer applied to the Secretary of State, requesting him to cause the documents to be inserted; and from him he received an answer in the following words:—

Whitehall, April 7, 1813.

SIR,—I have just received your letter of this day's date, inclosing a copy of an Address from the Lord Mayor, Alder-

men, and Livery of London, to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, with a copy of Her Royal Highness's Answer thereto, and desiring that I will order the same to be inserted in the London Gazette: in reply, I have to acquaint you, that in the exercise of the discretion which belongs to my official situation, I do not think it proper to cause the Address and answer above-mentioned to be inserted in the London Gazette. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

SIDMOUTH.

"To the City Remembrancer."

192. This Secretary of State was Viscount SIDMOUTH, whom we have seen Prime Minister in the reign of George III. and whom we shall, by-and-by, see the prime instrument in procuring and carrying into effect laws for imprisoning people at pleasure, and for vitally demolishing all the remains of the liberty of the press. He was the son of what was called a Doctor; he had been a practising barrister of very inferior note; PITT found it convenient to make him Speaker of the House of Commons; it was found convenient to make him Prime Minister for a short time, in order to keep the Whigs out of power; upon the death of PITT, he had formed a sort of coalition with those Whigs who had had the meanness to permit it as a condition to be allowed to share in the public money; he had joined PERCEVAL in the turning out of those Whigs; and he was now become Secretary of State under PERCEVAL and his successor.

193. A very fit person for carrying on the

work that was now to be performed. But these men do not seem to have perceived, that they gained nothing ; but, on the contrary, lost a great deal by these expositions of their spite. What they had to do was, to draw the people away from the PRINCESS ; to make them believe that she had not been ill-treated ; and that, at any rate, if perjury had been committed against her, and if the perjurers had been *suborned*, they, at any rate, knew nothing of the subornation. If it had been their object to convince the people of precisely the contrary of this ; if it had been their object to confirm all the suspicions that already existed in their minds, and to induce them to form a determination to maintain the PRINCESS against all her enemies and at all risks ; if these had been their objects, they could not have acted otherwise than in the manner in which they did ; of which manner of acting, this conduct, on the part of SIDMOUTH, formed an interesting specimen. Why not publish the address and the answer in the Gazette ? Why refuse to put upon record a declaration of that innocence which the Ministers themselves had been compelled to confess in their places in Parliament ? Why refuse to let it go down to posterity that the PRINCESS had been falsely accused and honourably acquitted ? Why close the records against the admission of this important fact ? This was manifestly an act of crying injustice ;

it discovered a spirit of foul and implacable hostility ; and this being manifest, men naturally inferred, common sense compelled them to infer, that the proceedings against the PRINCESS had been of the foulest and most malignant character from the beginning to the end. The spite, so evident in SIDMOUTH's refusal, had great weight in favour of the PRINCESS. It confirmed her friends ; it decided the wavering ; and in the month of May, 1813, it may be truly said that there was not an honest man nor a virtuous woman in England, who did not take part with her, and who did not despise her persecutors.

194. But, it was not merely the vindication of an innocent and injured woman ; it was not as the means of preserving her only that made men of sense and public spirit zealous in her cause, and made them set a high value upon the disclosures that had been made with regard to her. Their views and desires, without at all neglecting her, went a great deal farther. They saw, in the development of these intrigues and transactions, the sure means of filling the people with suspicion and disgust with regard to the conduct of the two greedy and unprincipled factions, and thereby of promoting the cause of parliamentary reform ; or, in other words, getting the public purse out of the hands of those factions.

195. This was the greatest step that the re-

formers had ever gained towards the accomplishment of their object. It was not here discontented individuals complaining; it was not public-spirited men, whether by writing, speaking, or combining, endeavouring to wrest unjust power from the hands of the boroughmongers: for such men the charges of sedition and treason were always ready, and the jails, dungeons, and gibbets, were always at hand. Here it was a very different matter; here such men were urging the people on to espouse the cause of a personage belonging to the royal family itself; here these men were doing their utmost to maintain the high character of the wife of the reigning sovereign, and the mother of the heiress to the throne. The charges of sedition and treason had no ground to rest upon here. The words Jacobin, Leveller, Revolutionist, Democrat, Republican, Atheist, which the boroughmongers had rung in our ears for a quarter of a century, lost, in this case, that power of delusion by the means of which those boroughmongers had been so long frightening and beggaring the nation. The PRINCESS was our shield; under that shield we fought most zealously and most successfully; and, had it not been for the peace on the Continent, which we shall find speedily following the transactions of which I am now speaking, the reform of the Parliament might possibly have been accomplished in the year 1814. Every

thing promised fair for that result. The enemies of the PRINCESS were obstinate; they were powerful, and power never listens to reason; the PRINCESS was brave; the question must have been brought to an issue; she would soon have found, that out of the pale of the reformers she had not a friend upon the face of the earth; she must have joined them openly in a short time; she must have put herself at their head. With the exception of very vile women, and such as lived on the tithes and the taxes; every woman was loud in her cause, and with the women she would have had all the men; and therefore the result of the struggle was certain.

196. This struggle was however prevented by the peace which took place not many months after the time of which we are now speaking; and in what manner the peace produced that effect, we shall presently see. Both the factions clearly saw their danger; they saw what must be the consequence if the PRINCESS remained in the hands of the reformers; and yet it was a matter of extreme difficulty for them to take her out of their hands: neither of them dared to espouse her cause, for that would have been sure to cause the exclusion from power; and if they did not espouse her cause; if they did not take her part as the reformers did, how was she to be made to believe that it was prudent in her to quit the reformers, and to place herself in their hands?

197. In this dilemma they resorted to all sorts of intrigues; certain women of quality, detesting the reformers from the bottom of their hearts, tendered her offers of their friendship and services; wheedled themselves into her confidence; communicated to the factions all her views and intentions, and continually whispered in her ear suspicions with regard to the reformers; gave her "*prudent*" advice; contrived to make her reserved and cold towards the reformers, whom they represented as her enemies at bottom, and as only wishing to make a tool of her for the purpose of undermining and overthrowing royalty altogether. Amongst the men that contrived to get into her councils were WHITBREAD and BROUGHAM, neither of whom had ever been in place, because no place had ever yet been within their reach, sufficient to reward their extraordinary merits; but they belonged decidedly to the faction called the Whigs; they were both in Parliament; they occasionally let drop expressions favourable to her cause; they thus ingratiated themselves with her, professing, doubtless, great anxiety to see justice done her; but, in the meanwhile, always whispering in her ear the necessity of keeping aloof from the reformers. They succeeded to a great extent; and thus she was kept quiet, when she ought to have been continually in motion. We urged her right to hold drawing-rooms; we urged her

to hold them ; we urged her to hold a court in the palace at Kensington, unless she were permitted to hold her drawing-rooms at St. James's. If she had followed our advice, she would have soon convinced her husband, that she had in reality the most power of the two. But the intriguers prevailed ; they kept her quiet ; they frightened her at the idea of listening to men whom they represented as wishing to overthrow her family. In short, thus beset, she acted a part so undecided and so equivocal, and showed, apparently at least, so little sense of her wrongs, and so little desire to obtain redress for those wrongs ; she appeared to be so contented in her state of seclusion ; so little sensible of the dishonour of being banished from the court ; so passive, so tame, that at last the people began to cool, and, not a few of them began to doubt, that there must be something at bottom that made her reluctant to set her enemies at defiance. This, however, could not have lasted long ; she would soon have found some new affront, some new mark of degradation would have been inflicted upon her ; she would then have been roused to open resentment, and thrown back into the hands of the reformers, there to remain. But now, in April 1814, just a year after she had received the address from the Common Hall of the city of London, *peace took place*, in consequence of the fall of Napoleon ; and that fall, of the causes of

which we shall have to speak by-and-by, was not much more complete in his case, than the step which she had been induced to take at the instigation of her insidious advisers, finally was fatal to her. She was safe nowhere but in England : everywhere else her bitter enemies had the means of effecting her ruin. They had succeeded in keeping her quiet for a short space, but they could not have succeeded in this long ; she even began to testify great impatience ; but now the way was open for them to advise her *to travel upon the Continent*, and in evil hour she listened to and followed that advice, by which she brought upon herself a long string of new charges, had again to encounter the effect of new perjuries, new calumnies, and a long series of persecutions, ending at last in her death ; all which may fairly be ascribed to her having listened to the deadly advice of these insidious deceivers, to which must, however, be added, an innate, an inveterate propensity in herself to think meanly of the people.

198. It was so manifest that England was her only place of safety ; it was so clear that her absence would cool the people in their zeal for her ; that she would become in some degree forgotten ; that, besides these considerations, the *women* would wonder (and English women in particular) how a *mother* could voluntarily separate herself from her daughter, and especially a

mother who had made it ground of former complaint to both Houses of Parliament, that she was not permitted to see her daughter *more than twice a week!* In short, this step was so manifestly calculated to give her husband a triumph over her, and to lay the foundation of her seclusion for life, if not for her destruction, that the wonder is how it became possible for her to be prevailed upon to adopt it.

199. With regard to the motives of those who gave her the advice, all doubt has been since removed by CANNING, who, not belonging to the Ministry at the time, contrived to become one of her advisers; he ingratiated himself with her, flattered her, supplanted Mr. WOOD, and, indeed, BROUGHAM and WHITBREAD besides; and perhaps the giving of this advice formed no small part of his claim to the premiership which he afterwards obtained. He has since confessed, and even boasted, in his place in Parliament, that it was he who prevailed upon her to exchange England for the Continent as the place of her residence; and, at the same time, he declared that he did this, "*because he saw that sedition had marked her for its own;*" that is to say, that he saw she would become a powerful instrument in the hands of those who wished to effect a reform of those monstrous abuses of which he had always been a zealous and deeply interested upholder. Such was the motive with which this advice was given. From

the moment that it was acted upon, began those miseries of the PRINCESS, which were destined to end only with her life. Everywhere she moved amidst spies and informers ; at every court she met with an insult, in every town and in every village she was dogged by a spy ; the creatures, fed by her bounty, were everywhere ready to betray and defame her ; she, at last, was brought to an open trial ; arraigned as an adulteress and a most dissolute woman ; was saved from an ignominious sentence by those very English reformers on whom she had been prevailed to turn her back ; and even this second triumph, which the reformers had given her, she was induced to cast away by again listening to the advice of the foes of reform. Here she ended ; her death was the consequence ; and again the reformers rescued her remains from dishonour.

200. Of the details of this last set of proceedings, which took place in 1820 and in 1821, I shall have to speak hereafter ; and I must now return a little to speak of that great event, the fall of the Emperor NAPOLEON ; an event, the greatest in itself, and the greatest in its consequences, of any which took place during this regency and reign.

201. The progress, the wonderful exploits, of NAPOLEON, together with the manner in which he had foisted his brothers upon the states which his army had overrun ; these along with the ground

of his new war against the Emperor of Russia will find a place in that part of the history of this country which will belong to the reign, the ruinous and desolating reign, of GEORGE III. We have here to speak of the overthrow, the dethronement and the banishment of NAPOLEON, in the month of April, 1814. He fell twice; once in 1814, and once in 1815. It is of the first fall which we have now to speak: we shall then speak of the second fall; and then describe the consequences of both to this our own country; for these consequences are the matters which are interesting to us. It is, however, an interesting matter to know how so much power as that which he possessed in 1813 came to be melted away in a moment; therefore I shall, as briefly as possible, describe the causes of a change so wonderful and so sudden.

202. If he had, in this his attack upon Russia, confined himself within narrower bounds, he would, no doubt, have brought the Autocrat upon his knees; but his cormorant ambition induced him to aim at the capture of Moscow, the ancient capital of the Russian Empire. If he had had patience to wait for the return of spring, he might even have accomplished this; nay, he might have succeeded in the winter, had not the Autocrat resorted to a species of hostility, more horrible than the world had ever heard of before, and such as could be justified by no motive whatsoever, not

even that of preserving the independence of a state, together with the life of its sovereign, and of all its established authorities.

203. NAPOLEON had made his calculations with great exactness. He knew the number of days that would be required to take his army to Moscow ; he knew the exact degree of suffering which that army would have to endure upon its march thither ; but he knew that he should meet with no resistance there ; he knew that his army would be well provided for during the remainder of the winter ; and he reasonably calculated, that in the spring he should be able to dictate his own terms of peace, one of which was that the "*magnanimous Alexander*" should again join him in the war against England. All this knowledge was rendered useless ; all these calculations were made to be false, by an act on the part of the Autocrat, such as never before had been contemplated ; an act before deemed too horrible to be attributed to the mind of any human being ; an act, the very thought of perpetrating which, fills us with indescribable horror ; namely, the setting fire to and utterly destroying the whole of the city of Moscow, containing *three hundred thousand souls* ; the whole of them, with the exception of a handful of troops, for whom provision had been made and conveyances had been prepared beforehand, perished, either in the flames, or upon the snow ! Let the reader contemplate this scene for a mo-

ment ; let him hear the screaming mothers ; let him reflect upon the number of them that must have been under the operations of childbirth ; let him but the thing is too horrible to think of ; let him only know these two facts, that in England the act was, by the public prints, ascribed to orders given by the Autocrat ; and that those same prints, generally speaking the sentiments of those who lived on the taxes and on the tithes, *applauded to the skies* the *magnanimous* giver of the order, and the instrument by whom the order was executed ! Aye, and scarcely was there to be found a single publication in England to express disapprobation of the ferocious deed ; every feeling being lost, every sentiment of mercy having been banished from the breast, by the desire of seeing produced such a revolution in France as should restore the Noblesse and the tithes in that country, and thereby furnish an unanswerable argument, wherewith to silence the reformers of England ; which, as it had been the original object of the war against the republicans of France, was still the object of the war against the Emperor of France, who, though a despot, had showed a determination not to restore the ancient Noblesse, and not to restore tithes.

205. NAPOLEON, instead of finding a great and well-provided city, wherein to quarter his troops, together with all the means which it would naturally furnish of obtaining fresh sup-

plies according to the Russian manner, found a wide-spread heap of smoking ashes, the residuum of buildings, consisting of wood, surrounded with snows strewed with dead bodies. To retreat was almost as certain destruction as to lie down on the snow and perish at once. Retreat, however, he did; but the far greater part of his army perished from the intensity of the cold, or were buried in the mountains of snows. The blazing of Moscow, and the certain consequences of that horrible act, emboldened the states of Europe to rise simultaneously for his destruction; and, before he, with the remains of his army, joined by the detachments which he left on his way, could reach the confines of France, the whole of those states were in arms against him. Austria and Prussia, which had crouched down before him; Bavaria, whose chief he had erected into a king; all the petty states of Germany, through which he had to pass; even his brother-in-law MURAT, whom he had made king of Naples, and his other brother-in-law, LE CLERC, whom he had made king of Sweden, joined in the league; he had to cut his way to France through myriads of bayonets; the English army in Spain entered France on the south side, at the same time. When he arrived at Paris, he found that treachery had not left him one square yard of earth on which he could find safety; and, thus reduced, he consented to a treaty of abdication,

which consigned him to the little island of **ELBA**, as his prison for life, superintended and watched by an agent of the Government of England.

205. But, it is to take a very shallow view of the matter to ascribe this signal fall to mere physical causes and the reverses of war. We must look a great deal deeper than this, in order to discover the real causes of the fall of **NAPOLÉON**. The combination against him was formidable; every bayonet out of France and Belgium, put in motion by English money (the loans of which we have yet to pay), was pointed at him; but notwithstanding all this, if the French had felt towards him as in the days of the Republic, all his enemies would have been scattered like dust before the wind. But his *vanity* was the cause of his ruin. He was a tyrant; but that might have passed, had he not had the vanity to ally himself with the ancient despots of Europe. He had done many things to offend the French people, which their inordinate love of military glory and their unbounded admiration of his exploits, made them overlook; but his casting off the wife, who had been his sensible and faithful companion when he began his career, and taking, in her stead, a daughter of the House of Austria, was an act to obliterate which from the minds of men no brilliancy of military exploits was sufficient. His despotic acts had greatly shaken him in the attachment of the people; his abolish-

ing of the Republic, his assuming the title of Emperor, his severe and insolent acts and demeanour, had lost him the love of the people; but his vanity lost him his crown; and vanity, too, of a species the most contemptible. He must needs be not only a *royal* personage himself, but he must become a propagator of the breed of the old *royal* race; he must marry amongst them; and, what was most abominable, after all that the French people had done and had suffered, in order to rid themselves for ever of the pernicious influence of the detested house of Austria, he must needs bring a daughter of that very house, and insultingly place her over that same French people; he must bring, to be the sovereign empress of France, the niece of that same MARIE ANTOINETTE, whom the French people, in delivering themselves from her unbearable tyranny and insolence, had, in the excess of their ungovernable; and, indeed, unwarrantable, resentment against her, dragged as a malefactor to the scaffold!

206. To himself, the consequence of his vanity was ruin; for, had it not been for that empty vanity, even his resolution to be an Emperor or a King would, had it not been for this matrimonial alliance, not prevented him from being able to destroy all the old dynasties; all the sovereigns of the continent would have been of his creation; the right to reign would, every-

where, have rested upon the same foundation. But this marriage with the house of Austria, seemed actually to have turned his brain. He became insolent. He spoke of the people in a style more haughty, more disdainful, than any of the old sovereigns ever had done. Even when chased to the frontiers of France, he still preserved this insolent style in speaking of the people. His Arch-chancellor of the Empire, an upstart, whom he had entitled the Count de FONTANES, made a report to him, in which, after complaining of other acts of hostility committed by the allied sovereigns, he complains of an appeal which those sovereigns had made to the people, and of the democratical principles inculcated by that appeal. The words are ever-memorable; the utterance and promulgation of them by NAPOLEON: this at once base and insolent act merited the fate which he finally experienced; only he should have received that fate at the hands of the people. One would think that the man must have been mad; but when one reflects on the thoughts and feelings which are engendered by long possession of absolute power, one can account for even these most audacious words, promulgated to the world by a man whom PITT had truly called the "child and the champion of jacobinism;" that is to say, of the plain and generous and just principles of democracy. This man owed all his riches, all

his power, all his rank, all his glory, to the *people* of France. He possessed not a shilling or a hem of a garment which had not been bestowed by them. They ordered him forth, or rather, they led him forth, for the purpose of crushing all the old despotisms; all the glory achieved by their wondrous valour, and their still more wondrous disinterestedness, they heaped upon him. Even now, when his own cormorant appetite for fame, and for personal and for family aggrandisement, had brought him back almost a fugitive to their frontiers, they were still ready to rescue him; but the Allies having made an *appeal to the people of France*, he, as will be seen by the following words of the report, resented that appeal; not because it was an act of hostility to him, but because it had a tendency to encourage the people to be refractory and disobedient to sovereign sway! "In the interval," says this audacious report, "a Gazette, now under the influence of the Allied Powers, published to all Europe a declaration, which is said to be furnished with their authority: it would be melancholy to believe it. This declaration is of a nature unusual in the diplomacy of *kings*. It is no longer to *kings*, like *themselves*, that they explain their grievances, and send their manifestos: it is to the *people* that they address them; and from what motive do they adopt such a new method of pro-

“ceeding? It is to separate the cause of the
“people from that of their governors, though
“the *interest of society* has everywhere united
“them. May not this *example* be *fatal*? Should
“it be given, especially at this period, when
“people’s minds, agitated by the *diseases of pride*,
“are so averse to *bending under the autho-*
“*rity which protects them*, while it *represses*
“*their audacity*? And against *whom* is this in-
“direct attack aimed? Against a great man, who
“*merited the gratitude of all kings*; because,
“by re-establishing the throne of France, he has
“*closed up the volcano which threatened them*
“*all.*”

207. Never did Austria, Prussia, Russia, or even the Dey of Algiers, put forth anything so insulting to the people as this. In vain did the insolent man, who arrived in Paris a few days after the issuing of this report, issue his decrees for the raising of troops, for the raising of levees *en masse*; in vain did he strut and supplicate at the same time; the people became disgusted with his vanity and insolence; the Allies pushed on towards Paris; and he, not having the courage to leave his dead body in the ditch of that city, fled to Fontainebleau, where, by a treaty in the following words, he abdicated his imperial and all other titles and claims, and consented to be sent a tame prisoner to a little insignificant spot in the Mediterranean sea, called the Isle of Elba! This treaty is a docu-

ment which will be memorable in the history of Europe. Young men should read, clearly understand, and well remember every part of it.

ARTICLES OF THE TREATY BETWEEN THE ALLIED POWERS AND HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion, as well to the French Empire, and the Kingdom of Italy, as over every other country.

Art. 2. Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and Maria Louisa shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives. The mother, the brothers, sisters, nephews, and neices, of the Emperor, shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of Princes of his family.

Art. 3. The Isle of Elba, adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon as the place of his residence, shall form, during his life, a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property; there shall be besides granted, in full property, to the Emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs, in rent-charge, in the great book of France, of which 1,000,000 shall be in reversion to the Empress.

Art. 4. The Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall be granted in full property and sovereignty, to her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa; they shall pass to her son, and to the descendants in the right line. The Prince, her son, shall from henceforth take the title of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Gunstalla.

Art. 5. All the Powers engage to employ their good offices to cause to be respected by the Barbary Powers the flag and territory of the Isle of Elba, for which purpose the relations with the Barbary Powers shall be assimilated to those with France.

Art. 6. There shall be reserved in the territories hereby

renounced, to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, for himself and his family, domains or rent-charges in the great book of France, producing a revenue, clear of all deductions and charges, of 2,500,000 francs. These domains or rents shall belong in full property, and to be disposed of as they shall think fit, to the Princes and Princesses of his family, and shall be divided amongst them in such manner that the revenue of each shall be in the following proportion, viz.

	<i>France.</i>
To Madame Mere	300,000
To King Joseph and his Queen	500,000
To King Louis	300,000
To the Queen Hortense and her children .	400,000
To King Jerome and his Queen	400,000
To the Princess Eliza	300,000
To the Princess Paulina	300,000
	<hr/>
	2,500,000

The Princes and Princesses of the House of the Emperor Napoleon shall retain besides their property, moveable and immoveable, of whatever nature it may be, which they shall possess by individual and public right, and the rents of which they shall enjoy (also as individuals).

Art. 7. The annual pension of the Empress Josephine shall be reduced to 1,000,000, in domains, or in inscriptions in the great book of France : she shall continue to enjoy in full property, all her private property, moveable and immoveable, with power to dispose of it conformably to the French laws.

Art. 8. There shall be granted to Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

Art. 9. The property which his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domain, or of private domain attached to the Crown, the funds placed by the Emperor, either in the great book of France, in the Bank of France, in the *Actions des Forêts*, or in any other manner, and which his Majesty abandons to the Crown, shall be reserved as a capital, which shall not exceed 2,000,000, to be expended in gratifications in favour of such persons, whose

names shall be contained in a list to be signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and shall be transmitted to the French Government.

Art. 10. All the Crown diamonds shall remain in France.

Art. 11. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, shall return to the Treasury, and to the other public chests, all the sums and effects that shall have been taken out by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the Civil List.

Art. 12. The debts of the Household of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they were on the day of the signature of the present Treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public Treasury to the Civil List, according to a list which shall be signed by a Commissioner appointed for that purpose.

Art. 13. The obligations of the Mont-Napoleon, of Milan, towards all the creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be exactly fulfilled, unless there shall be any change made in this respect.

Art. 14. There shall be given all the necessary passports for the free passage of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, or of the Empress, the Princes, and Princesses, and all the persons of their suites who wish to accompany them, or to establish themselves out of France, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects belonging to them. The Allied Powers shall in consequence furnish officers and men for escorts.

Art. 15. The French Imperial Guard shall furnish a detachment of from 1,200 to 1,500 men, of all arms, to serve as an escort to the Emperor Napoleon to St. Tropes, the place of his embarkation.

Art. 16. There shall be furnished a corvette, and the necessary transport vessels, to convey to the place of his destination his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and his household; and the corvette shall belong, in full property, to his Majesty the Emperor.

Art. 17. The Emperor Napoleon shall be allowed to take with him, and retain as his guard 400 men, volunteers, as well officers, as sub-officers and soldiers.

Art. 18. No Frenchman, who shall have followed the Em-

peror Napoleon or his family, shall be held to have forfeited his rights as such, by not returning to France within three years; at least they shall not be comprised in the exceptions which the French Government reserves to itself to grant after the expiration of that term.

Art. 19. The Polish troops of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage as a testimony of their honourable services. The officers, sub-officers, and soldiers, shall retain the decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to those decorations.

Art. 20. The high Allied Powers guarantee the execution of all the Articles of the present Treaty, and engage to obtain that it shall be adopted and guaranteed by France.

Art. 21. The present Act shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged at Paris within two days, or sooner if possible.

Done at Paris, the 11th of April, 1814.

(L.S.) The Prince de METTERNICH.

(L.S.) J. P. Comte de STADION.

(L.S.) ANDRE Comte de RASOUMOUFSKY.

(L.S.) CHARLES ROBERT Comte de NESSELRODE.

(L.S.) CASTLEREAGH.

(L.S.) CHARLES AUGUSTE Baron de HARDENBERG.

(L.S.) Marshal NEY.

(L.S.) CAULINCOURT.

208. The disgrace here inflicted upon this vain and insolent man is too obvious to require observation; but it is not inappropriate to mark his baseness towards the French people. Not one stipulation does he obtain in favour of the people of France; not a single stipulation even for those soldiers who had gained him his glories, and thousands upon thousands of whom he had

left prisoners in the hands of the enemies of France ; but, if he had been Jew or loanmonger, he could **not** have stipulated more tightly for himself, and for every member of his family, to support whom, in luxury and with their upstart titles, he loaded the people of France with the payment of an annuity of a hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. It was great baseness in the **BOURBONS** to submit to this ; but he ought to have died a thousand deaths rather than to purchase his life upon such terms ; or, rather, to sell the people of France in a manner so barefaced.

209. In the meanwhile the **BOURBONS**, with all their train of old tyrannical noblesse, which time and the miseries of banishment had left them, were returning to Paris ; where, on the 30th of May, 1814, they entered into treaties with the Allies. These treaties, which will be presently inserted, must be read with great care and attention, in order that the reader may have a clear view of the terms to which the **BOURBONS** submitted for the sake of regaining their power, and more especially for the sake of living in idleness, luxury, and debauchery, on the fruit and labour of the industrious people of France. In every line of them we see the insolence of the Allies, and the baseness of the **BOURBONS** ; in every line of them, revenge on the brave people of France ; in every line of them, an anxious desire to stifle the spirit of liberty for ever.

TREATY OF PEACE.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

Article I. There shall be, reckoning from this date, peace and friendship between his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, on the one part, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Allies on the other part, their heirs and successors, their respective states and subjects in perpetuity. The high contracting parties shall apply all their cares to maintain, not only between themselves, but also as far as depends on them between all the States of Europe, the good agreement and understanding so necessary to its repose.

Art. II. The kingdom of France preserves the integrity of its limits, such as they existed at the period of the 1st of January, 1792. It shall receive besides an augmentation of territory comprised within the line of demarcation fixed by the following article :—

Art. III. On the side of Belgium, Germany, and Italy, the ancient frontier, such as it existed on the 1st January, 1792, shall be re-established, the same commencing from the North Sea, between Dunkirk and Nieuport, even unto the Mediterranean between Cagnes and Nice, with the following ratifications :—

1. In the department of Jemappes, the canton of Dour Merbes-le-Chateau, Beaumont, and Chimay, shall remain to France; the line of demarcation, where it touches the canton of Dour, shall pass between that canton and those of Boussu and Paturage, as well as, farther on, between that of Morbes-le-Chateau, and those of Binch and Thuin.

2. In the department of the Sambre and Meuse, the cantons of Valcourt, Florennes, Beaulieu, and Gedume, shall belong to France; the demarcation, upon reaching this department, shall follow the line which separates the forementioned cantons, from the department of Jemappes, and from the rest of the Sambre and Meuse.

3. In the department of the Moselle, the new demarcation where it differs from the old shall be formed by a line to be

drawn from Perle as far as Fremorsdorf, or by that which separates the canton of Tholey, from the rest of the department of the Moselle.

4. In the department of the Sarre, the cantons of Saarbrock and Arnwal shall remain to France, as well as that part of the canton of Lebach, which is situated to the south of a line to be drawn along the confines of the villages of Herehenbach, Uebchosen, Hilsbach, and Hall (leaving these different places without the French frontier) to the point where, taken from Querselle (which belongs to France), the line which separates the cantons of Arnwal and Ottweiler, reaches that which separates those of Arnwal and Lebach; the frontier on this side shall be formed by the line above marked out, and then by that which separates the canton of Arnwal from that of Bliescastel.

5. The fortress of Landau having, prior to the year 1792, formed an insulated point in Germany, France retains beyond her frontiers a part of the departments of Mont Tonnerre and the Lower Rhine, in order to join the fortress of Landau and its district to the rest of the kingdom. The new demarcation proceeding from the point where, at Obersteinbach (which remains without the French frontier), the frontier enters the department of the Moselle, and that of Mont Tonnerre, joins the department of the Lower Rhine, shall follow the line which separates the cantons of Weissenburg and Bergzabern (on the side of France) from the cantons of Pirmasens, Dalm, and Anweiler (on the side of Germany), to the point where these limits, near the village of Wohnersheim, touch the ancient district of the fortress of Landau. Of this district, which remains as it was in 1792, the new frontier shall follow the arm of the river Queich, which, in leaving this district near Queichheim (which rests with France), passes near the villages of Merlenheim, Kniltelsheim, and Beiheim (also remaining French) to the Rhine, which thence continues the boundary between France and Germany. As to the Rhine, the Thalveg, or course of the river, shall form the boundary; the changes, however, which may occur in the course of the river, shall have no effect on the property of the isles which are found

there. The possession of these isles shall be replaced under the same form as at the period of the Treaty of Luneville.

6. In the department of the Doubs, the frontiers shall be drawn so as to commence above La Ranconniere, near the Loell, and follow the crest of the Jura between Cerneaux Pequignot and the village of Fontenelles, so far as that summit of the Jura which lies about seven or eight miles to the north-west of the village of La Brevine, where it will turn back within the ancient limits of France.

7. In the department of the Leman, the frontiers between the French territory, the Pais de Vaud, and the different portions of the territory of Geneva (which shall make a part of Switzerland), remain as they were before the incorporation of Geneva with France. But the canton of Frangy, that of St. Julien (with exception of that part lying to the north of a line to be drawn from the point where the river of La Laire enters near Chancery into the Genevese territory, along the borders of Sesseguin, Laconex, and Seseneuve, which shall remain without the limits of France), the canton of Regnier (with exception of that portion which lies eastward of a line following the borders of the Muraz, Bussy, Pers, and Cornier, which shall be without the French limits), and the canton of La Roche (with exception of the places named La Roche and Armanay, with their districts), shall rest with France. The frontier shall follow the limits of those different cantons, and the lines separating those portions which France retains from those which she gives up.

8. In the department of Mont Blanc, France shall obtain the subprefecture of Chambery (with exception of the cantons del'Hopital, St. Pierre d'Abigny, la Rocette, and Montmelian), the subprefecture of Annecy, with exception of that part of the canton of Faverges, situated to the east of a line passing between Ourchaise and Marilen on the French side, and Marthod and Ugino on the opposite side, and which then follows the crest of the mountains to the frontier of the canton of Thones. This line, with the limits of the aforementioned cantons, shall constitute the new frontier on this side. On the side of the Pyrenees, the frontiers remain as they were

between the two kingdoms of France and Spain, on the 1st of January, 1792. There shall be appointed on the part of both, a mutual commission to arrange their final demarcation. France renounces all claims of sovereignty, supremacy, and possession over all countries, districts, towns, and places whatsoever, situated without the above-stated frontier. The principality of Monaco is replaced in the same situation as on the 1st of January, 1792. The Allied Courts assure to France the possession of the principality of Avignon, the Vanaissin, the county of Montbealird, and all the inclosed districts once belonging to Germany, comprised within the above indicated frontier, which had been incorporated with France before or after the 1st of January, 1792. The Powers preserve mutually the full right to fortify whatever point of their States they may judge fitting for their safety. To avoid all injury to private property, and to protect on the most liberal principle, the possessions of individuals domiciliated on the frontiers, there shall be named by each of the States adjoining France, commissioners, to proceed jointly with French commissioners, to the demarcation of their respective boundaries. So soon as the office of these commissioners shall be completed, instruments shall be drawn up, signed by them, and posts erected to mark the mutual limits.

Art. IV. To secure the communications of the town of Geneva with the other parts of the Swiss territory on the Lake, France consents that the roads by Versoy shall be common to the two countries. The respective Governments will have an amicable understanding on the means of preventing smuggling, the regulation of the posts, and the maintenance of the roads.

Art. V. The navigation of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable to the sea and back, shall be free, so as to be interdicted to no person. Principles shall be laid down at a future Congress, for the collection of the duties by the States of the banks, in the manner most equal and favourable to the commerce of all nations. It shall be also inquired and ascertained at the same Congress, in what mode, for the purposes of more facile communication, and rendering nations continually less strangers to each other, this disposition may

be extended to all rivers, that in their navigable course separate or traverse different States.

Art. VI. Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, shall receive an increase of territory. The title, and the exercise of its sovereignty, cannot, under any circumstance, belong to a Prince wearing or designated to wear a foreign crown. The German States shall be independent, and united by a federative league. Independent Switzerland shall continue under its own government. Italy, without the limits of the countries which shall return to Austria, shall be composed of sovereign States.

Art. VII. The Island of Malta and its dependencies shall belong, in full possession and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty.

Art. VIII. His Britannic Majesty, stipulating for himself and his Allies, engages to restore to his most Christian Majesty, within periods afterwards to be fixed, the Colonies, Fisheries, Factories, and Establishments of every kind which France possessed on the 1st of January, 1792, in the seas, or on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception, nevertheless, of the islands of Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France and its dependencies, namely Rodrigue and the Sechelles, all which his most Christian Majesty cedes in full property and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty, as also that part of St. Domingo ceded to France by the Peace of Basle, and which his most Christian Majesty retrocedes to his Catholic Majesty in full property and sovereignty.

Art. IX. His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his Allies, and for the execution of the preceding Article, consents that the island of Guadaloupe be restored to his most Christian Majesty, and cedes all the rights which he might have to that island.

Art. X. His most Faithful Majesty, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his Allies, engages to restore to his most Christian Majesty, without a period hereafter fixed, French Guyana, such as it was on the first of Jan. 1792. The effect of the above stipulation being to revive the dis-

pute existing at that period as to limits, it is agreed that the said dispute should be terminated by an amicable arrangement, under the mediation of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. XI. The fortresses and forts existing in the colonies to be restored to his most Christian Majesty, in virtue of Articles VIII., IX., and X., shall be given up in the state in which they shall be at the time of the signature of the present treaty.

Art. XII. His Britannic Majesty engages to cause the subjects of his most Christian Majesty to enjoy, in regard to commerce, and the security of their persons and properties, within the limits of the British Sovereignty on the Continent of India, the same facilities, privileges, and protection, which are at present granted to the most favoured nations. On this side, his most Christian Majesty having nothing more at heart, than the perpetuity of the peace between the two Crowns of France and England, and wishing to contribute, as much as in him lies, to remove henceforward such points of contract between the two nations as might one day alter a good mutual understanding, engages not to erect any work of fortification in the establishments to be restored to him, and which are situated within the limits of British sovereignty on the Continent of India, and to place in those establishments only the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of the police.

Art. XIII. As to the French right of fishery on the grand bank of Newfoundland, on the coasts of the isle of that name and the adjacent isles, and in the Gulf of St. Laurence, every thing shall be restored to the same footing as in 1792.

Art. XIV. The colonies, factories, and establishments to be restored to his most Christian Majesty by his Britannic Majesty or his Allies, shall be given up, viz. those in the seas of the North, or in the seas and on the Continents of America and Africa, within three months, and those beyond the Cape of Good Hope within six months after the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. XV. The high contracting parties having reserved to themselves by the 4th Article of the Convention of April 23, the regulation in the present definitive treaty of peace

of the fate of the arsenals and vessels of war, armed and not armed, which are in maritime fortresses, surrendered by France in execution of Article 2, of the said Convention, it is agreed that the said vessels and ships of war, armed and not armed, as also the naval artillery, the naval stores, and all the materials of construction and armament, shall be divided between France and the country where the fortresses are situated, in the proportion of two-thirds to France, and one-third to the Powers to whom such fortresses shall appertain. The vessels and ships which are building, and which shall not be ready for launching in six weeks after the present treaty, shall be considered as materials, and as such divided in the proportion above assigned, after being taken to pieces. Commissaries shall be mutually appointed to arrange the division and draw up a statement thereof, and passports shall be given by the Allied Powers, to secure the return to France of the French workmen, seamen, and agents. The vessels and arsenals existing in the maritime fortresses which shall have fallen into the power of the Allies anterior to the 23rd of April, are not included in the above stipulations, nor the vessels and arsenals which belonged to Holland, and in particular the Texel fleet. The French Government binds itself to withdraw, or cause to be sold, all that shall belong to it by the above-stated stipulations, within the period of three months after the division has been effected. In future, the port of Antwerp shall be solely a port of commerce.

Art. XVI. The high contracting parties wishing to place and cause to be placed in entire oblivion the divisions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, no individual of whatever class or condition shall be persecuted, harassed, or disturbed in his person or property, under any pretext, or for his attachment either to any of the contracting parties, or to governments which have ceased to exist, or from any other cause, unless for debts contracted to individuals, or for acts posterior to the present treaty.

Art. XVII. In all the countries which may or shall change masters, as well in virtue of the present treaty, as of the ar-

rangements to be made in consequence thereof, the inhabitants, both natives and foreigners, of whatever class or condition, shall be allowed a space of six years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications, in order to dispose, if they think proper, of their property, whether acquired before or during the present war, and to retire to whatever country they please.

Art. XVIII. The Allied Powers, wishing to give his most Christian Majesty a new proof of their desire to cause to disappear, as much as lies in their power, the consequences of the period of calamity so happily terminated by the present peace, renounce, in toto, the sums which the Government had to re-demand of France, by reason of any contracts, supplies, or advances whatsoever, made to the French Government in the different wars which have taken place since 1792. His most Christian Majesty, on his side, renounces every claim which he might make on the Allied Powers on similar grounds. In execution of this Article, the high contracting parties engage mutually to give up all titles, bonds, and documents, relating to debts which they have reciprocally renounced.

Art. XIX. The French Government engages to cause to be liquidated and paid, all sums which it shall find itself bound in duty to pay in countries beyond its territories, in virtue of contracts or other formal engagements entered into between individuals or private establishments, and the French authorities, both for supplies and legal obligations.

Art. XX. The high contracting powers, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, will appoint commissaries to regulate and effectuate the execution of the whole of the measures contained in Articles XVIII. and XIX. These commissaries shall employ themselves in the examination of the claims mentioned in the preceding Article, of the liquidation of the sums claimed, and of the mode which the French Government shall propose for paying them. They shall also be charged with the giving up of the titles, obligations, and documents, relative to the debts which the high contracting powers mutually renounce,

in such way, that the ratification of the result of their labours shall complete this reciprocal renunciation.

Art. XXI. The debts specially hypothecated in their origin on the countries which cease to belong to France, or contracted for their internal administration, shall remain a charge on these same countries. An account shall in consequence be kept for the French Government, commencing with the 22nd December, 1813, of such of those debts as have been converted into inscriptions in the great book of the public debt of France. The titles of all such as have not been prepared for the inscription, nor have been yet inscribed, shall be given up to the Governments of the respective countries. Statements of all these debts shall be drawn up by a mixed commission.

Art. XXII. The French Government, on its side, shall remain charged with the repayment of the sums paid by the subjects of the above-mentioned countries into the French chests, whether under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments. In like manner French subjects, servants of the said countries, who have paid sums under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments, into their respective treasuries, shall be faithfully reimbursed.

Art. XXIII. The titulars of places subjected to cautionment, who have not the handling of the money, shall be repaid with interest, until the full payment at Paris, by fifths and annually, commencing from the date of the present Treaty.—With regard to those who are accountable, the payment shall take place, at the latest, six months after the presentation of their accounts, the case of malversation alone excepted. A copy of the last account shall be transmitted to the Government of their country to serve it for information, and as a starting point.

Art. XXIV. The judicial deposits and consignments, made into the chest of the sinking fund in execution of the law of the 28th Nivoise, year 13 (18th of January, 1805), and which belong to the inhabitants of the countries which France ceases to possess, shall be restored within a year, dating from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty,

into the hands of the authorities of the said countries, with the exception of such deposits and consignments as French subjects are interested in ; in which case, they shall remain in the chest of the sinking fund, not to be restored but on proofs resulting from the decisions of the competent authorities.

Art. XXV. The funds deposited by the communes and public establishments in the chest of service and in the chest of the sinking fund, or any other Government chest, shall be repaid to them by fifths from year to year, reckoning from the date of the present treaty, with the deduction of advances which shall have been made to them, and saving the regular claims made upon these funds by creditors of the said communes and public establishments.

Art. XXVI. Dating from the 1st of January, 1814, the French Government ceases to be charged with the payment of any pension, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, pension of retirement, or half-pay, to any individual who is no longer a French subject.

Art. XXVII. The national domains acquired for a valuable consideration by French subjects, in the ci-devant departments of Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, and of the Alps, without the ancient limits of France, are and remain guaranteed to the purchasers.

Art. XXVIII. The abolition of the droits d'aubaine, deduction, and others of the same nature, in the countries which reciprocally stipulated it with France, or which had been antecedently annexed to it, is expressly confirmed.

Art. XXIX. The French Government engages to cause to be restored the obligations and other titles which shall have been seized in the provinces occupied by the French armies or administrations ; and in cases where restitution cannot be made, these obligations and titles are and remain annihilated.

Art. XXX. The sums which shall be due for all works of public utility not yet terminated, or terminated posterior to the 31st of December, 1812, on the Rhine, and in the departments detached from France, by the present treaty, shall pass to the charge of future possessors of the territory, and

shall be liquidated by the commission charged with the liquidation of the debts of the district.

Art. XXXI. All archives, charts, plans, and documents whatsoever belonging to the countries ceded, and connected with their administration, shall be faithfully restored at the same time with the countries; or, if that be impracticable, within a period not more than six months after the surrender of the said countries. This stipulation is applicable to archives, charts, and plans which may have been carried off in countries for the moment occupied by the different armies.

Art. XXXII. Within a period of two months, all the Powers who have been engaged in both sides in the present war, shall send plenipotentiaries to Vienna, in order to regulate, in a General Congress, the arrangements necessary for completing the dispositions of the present treaty.

Art. XXXIII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within a fortnight, or sooner, if practicable.

In testimony whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

(L. S.) (Signed) The Prince of BENEVENT.

(L. S.) The Prince of METTERNICH.

(L. S.) J. P. Count STADION.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

The high contracting parties, wishing to efface all traces of the unfortunate events which have weighed heavily on their people, have agreed explicitly to annul the effects of the treaties of 1805 and 1809, in as far as they are not already actually annulled by the present treaty. In consequence of this declaration, his most Christian Majesty engages that the decrees issued against French, or reputed French subjects, being, or having been, in the service of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, shall remain without effect, as well as the judgments which may have been passed in execution of these decrees. The present additional article shall have the same force and effect as if it had been inserted in the patent treaty of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be

exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms. Done at Paris, this 30th May, 1814.

(L.S.) (Signed) The Prince of BENEVENT.

(L.S.) The Prince of METTERNICH.

(L.S.) Count STADION.

The same day, at the same time and place, the same Treaty of Definitive Peace was concluded—between France and Russia; between France and Great Britain; between France and Prussia; and signed, viz. The Treaty between France and Russia :—

For France by M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevent (*ut supra*); and for Russia, by MM. Count Rasumouffsky, Privy Councillor of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, Grand Cross of that of St. Wolodimir of the 1st class; and Charles Robert Count Nesselrode, Privy Councillor of his said Majesty, Chamberlain, Secretary of State, Knight of the Order of St. Alexander Newsky, Grand Cross of that of St. Wolodimir of the 2nd class, Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold of Austria, of that of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of the Golden Eagle of Wurtemberg.

The Treaty between France and Great Britain :—

For France, by Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevent (*ut supra*); and for Great Britain, by the Right Hon. Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, Privy Councillor of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Member of his Parliament, Colonel of the Regiment of Londonderry Militia, and his Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c.—George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Formartin, Lord Haddo, Tarvis, and Kellie, &c., one of the 16 Scotch Peers, Knight of the most ancient Order of the Thistle, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty; William Shaw Cathcart, Viscount Cathcart, Baron Cathcart and Greenock, Councillor of his

said Majesty, Knight of the Order of the Thistle, and of several Russian Orders, General in his Armies, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia; and the Hon. Charles William Stewart, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, Member of his Parliament, Knight of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of many others, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty King of Prussia.

The Treaty between France and Prussia:—

For France, by M. C. Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevent (*ut supra*); and for Prussia by MM. Charles Augustus Baron Hardenberg, Chancellor of State to his Majesty the King of Prussia, Knight of the Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of many other Orders; and Charles William Baron Humboldt, Minister of State of his said Majesty, and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty.

With the following additional articles:—

ARTICLE ADDITIONAL TO THE TREATY WITH RUSSIA.

The Duchy of Warsaw having been under the administration of a provisional council established by Russia ever since that country was occupied by her arms, the two high contracting parties have agreed to appoint immediately a Special Commission, composed on both sides of an equal number of commissaries, who shall be charged with the examination and liquidation of their respective claims, and all the arrangements relative thereto.—The present additional article shall have the same force and effect, as if inserted verbatim in the patent treaty of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time: in testimony whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 30th day of May, 1814.

(L.S.) (Signed) The Prince of BENEVENT.

(L.S.) ANDREW Count RASUMOUFFSKY.

(L.S.) CHAS. ROBERT Count NESSELRODE.

ARTICLES ADDITIONAL TO THE TREATY WITH
GREAT BRITAIN.

Article I. His most Christian Majesty, participating without reserve in all the sentiments of his Britannic Majesty relative to a species of commerce, which is equally repugnant to the principles of natural justice, and the lights of the times in which we live, engages to unite, at a future Congress, all his efforts to those of his Britannic Majesty, in order to cause all the Powers of Christendom to proclaim the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in such manner that the said trade may cease universally, as it shall cease definitively, and in all events on the part of France, within a period of five years, and that besides, pending the duration of this period, no trader in slaves shall be at liberty to import or sell them e'sewhere, but in the colonies of the State to which he belongs.

Art. II. The British Government and the French Government will immediately appoint commissaries to liquidate their respective expenses for the maintenance of prisoners of war, for the purpose of coming to an arrangement on the manner of paying off the balance which shall be found in favour of either of the two Powers.

Art. III. The prisoners of war respectively shall be bound to discharge, before their departure from the place of their detention, the private debts which they may have there contracted, or at least to give satisfactory security.

Art. IV. There shall be on both sides, immediately after ratification of the present Treaty, a removal of the sequestration which, since the year 1792, may have been placed on the funds, revenues, debts, and all other effects whatever of the high contracting powers, or of their subjects. The same commissaries mentioned in Art. II., shall employ themselves in the examination and liquidation of the claims of his Britannic Majesty upon the French Government, for the value of property moveable or immoveable unduly confiscated by the French authorities, as well as for the total or partial loss of their debts or other property, unduly detained under sequestration since the year 1792. France engaged to treat in this respect the subjects of England with the same justice that the

subjects of France have experienced in England; and the English Government wishing, on its part, to concur in this new testimony that the Allied Powers have given to his most Christian Majesty of their desire to remove entirely the consequences of the epoch of misfortune, so happily terminated by the present peace, engages on its side (as soon as complete justice shall be done to its subjects), to renounce the whole amount of the excess which may be found in its favour, relative to the maintenance of the prisoners of war, so that the ratification of the result of the labours of the undersigned commissioners, and which shall be adjudged to belong to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, shall render its renunciation complete.

Art. V. The two high contracting powers, desirous to establish the most amicable relations between their respective subjects, reserve to themselves a promise to come to an understanding and arrangement as soon as possible, on their commercial interests, with the intention of encouraging and augmenting the prosperity of their respective States. The present additional articles shall have the same force and validity, as if they had been inserted in those words in the treaty of this day. They shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged at the same time. In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed them, and affixed the seal of their arms.

Dated and signed as above.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE TO THE TREATY WITH PRUSSIA.

Though the Treaty of Peace concluded at Basle the 8th of April, 1795; that of Tilsit, of the 9th July, 1807; the Convention of Paris, of the 20th September, 1808; as well as all the Convention and acts whatsoever, concluded since the peace of Basle between Prussia and France, are already virtually annulled by the present Treaty, the high contracting powers have nevertheless thought fit to declare expressly that the said Treaties cease to be obligatory for all their articles, both patent and secret, and that they mutually re-

nounce all right, and release themselves from all obligation which might result from them.

His Most Christian Majesty promises that the decrees issued against French subjects, or reputed Frenchmen, being or having been in the service of his Prussian Majesty, shall be of no effect, as well as the judgments which may have been passed in execution of those decrees.

The present additional Article shall have the same force and effect, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the patent Treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time. In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed their seals.

Dated and signed as above.

210. Humiliating as these treaties were to France, they were soon found not to be humiliating enough to satisfy the Government of England. France, in spite of the tyranny of NAPOLEON, was in a happy state compared with that which she had been in previous to the Revolution. The accursed oppressions of the noblesse and clergy had been completely annihilated; the tyrannical petty courts and petty parliaments had been destroyed; a code of laws, however defective, yet of uniform and impartial effect, had been framed by wise and just men, who had (the greatest of all his glories) given it the name of CODE NAPOLEON; the forms, functions, and consequences, of law and justice were the same all over the kingdom; the odious and horrible excise laws and tithe laws had been totally abolished; and, above all things, the tithes and other ecclesiastical impositions had also long ceased to be; property,

and especially landed property, had become widely distributed and sub-divided in consequence of the sale of the church property, as well as the estates of the nobility having been confiscated and sold ; so that though the BOURBONS, for awhile, at least, regained the throne of France, it was not that same France of which they had formerly been the rapacious devourers, and of which they had been the cruel scourge ; and they found it to be impossible, and the Allies found that it would be impolitic, to advise them to attempt to restore the ancient order of things, or anything at all resembling that order of things. They made some changes in the constitution ; decreed a new one, and sent it forth as a grant from themselves, and not as a thing which the people had a right to demand, much less to impose ; they made a change in names and forms ; they restored the ancient noblesse to their titles ; they established bishops and a priesthood ; but, they left France divided into *Departments* as they found it, and did not attempt to restore the ancient *Provinces* ; they did not attempt to restore the estates of the noblesse, which had everywhere been confiscated and sold ; they did not attempt to restore the accursed game laws ; they sanctioned stipendiary bishops and clergy, but made no attempt to restore any part of the church property or the tithes ; and they left the CODE NAPOLEON in full force and effect, merely

changing the name of NAPOLEON for that of BOURBON, which, in fact, was doing no wrong; for it belonged to them as much as it belonged to him.

211. Amongst other things, which the Revolution had effected for France, it had cleared her of that enormous DEBT; or, rather, variety and accumulation of debts which the BOURBONS had been heaping upon her for about a century and a half; it had delivered her from those remorseless hordes of blood-sucking loanmongers, tax-renters, and Jews; the which hordes and their proceedings had been, in fact, the true cause of the Revolution itself, first by burdening the people, and next by urging them to that convulsive movement by which they had thrown off the intolerable yoke. The lands of France were now in innumerable hands, and the abolition of the law of *primogeniture* (which the BOURBONS did not dare to re-enact), together with a positive law for the equal division, amongst the children of a family, of whatever property the head of that family might die possessed, had made it impossible for the BOURBONS to cause a restoration of any thing like the ancient order of things; and the infinite number of new proprietors, seeing their titles *confirmed* for ever, and the claims of the noblesse and clergy completely obliterated, were rather pleased than otherwise at the restoration of the BOURBONS. The agriculture of France was,

in spite of her long war, far more flourishing than at any former period ; and it is agriculture, which must, after all, be the main pillar of every great State.

212. Thus was France ready to start forward in the career of commercial, as well as agricultural prosperity. Unencumbered by debts, and by no means disheartened, being able justly to estimate the cause of NAPOLEON's fall ; separating his glory from her own ; retaining a full recollection of all her valiant deeds ; having, in the veterans of her wars, still more than enough means to take vengeance on her enemies whenever she chose, she offered to the eyes of the English Government, a constant rival and a possible enemy, greater than she had ever presented to it before.

213. This was instantly felt in England : the ink with which the treaties were signed was hardly dry before we began to hear from the English Government sounds of *ominous forebodings* ; sounds which indicated that it feared, and that it was convinced, that *it had not done enough* ; it saw that it had not crippled France ; it saw that NAPOLEON was not France ; and it began to sigh for an excuse for *doing more*. The new constitution of France had given her a *House of Lords* and a *House of Commons* ; these were thought to be essentials in the keeping of her in subjection ; in the deluding of her people to believe

themselves free, and to boast of their freedom while they were enslaved. But, these mortal enemies to the prosperity and happiness of France forgot that, in making the French House of Lords and Commons, they had not at the same time made a suitable set of rotten boroughs ; by the means of which the Lords might choose the Commons, while the King chose the Lords, and while the people were left without any representatives at all. The enemies of the freedom of France, and of the freedom of mankind, had overlooked this important omission ; when they discovered which, they began to testify uneasiness.

214. Before we speak of the state of things which this first fall of NAPOLEON produced in England, we must go on to speak of his second and last fall, in order to keep the subject separate. In point of *time*, the events and conclusion of the new AMERICAN WAR would precede this last fall ; but we must reserve them also, and return to them by-and-by, for the purpose of keeping these great subjects distinct in our minds. Being now, however, about to give the history of the second fall of NAPOLEON, it has been necessary to state the grounds of uneasiness, in the minds of the enemies of France, at their having left their work unfinished in that country ; the grounds for their wishing for an *excuse* for their doing something more for the purpose of crippling France for a great length of time.

215. This desire might exist in other countries, or at least in other courts; but it no-where existed in so great a degree as amongst the aristocracy and clergy, that is to say, amongst those who have the government of England in their hands. The treaty of peace was hardly signed, before the public prints, at the beck of those bodies, began to say *that enough had not been done*; the speeches in Parliament breathed the same language; there was every where a cry that measures ought to be adopted to prevent a recurrence of that spirit of *jacobinism*, as it was called, which was inconsistent with "*all regular government*." Indeed, the spectacle which France presented, in contrast with England, was quite enough to frighten those who lived on the tithes and taxes of England, and who seemed resolved that no change should take place. There was France, without a *debt*, and without *tithes*, without *game laws*, without any thing worthy of the name of *excise*, without *turnpike-tolls*; with cheap living, and with the lands nearly equally divided. The sight, particularly to the pensioners, the sinecurists, the grantees, and the swarms of fundholders, was truly hideous; but, if it were hideous to these, what was the sight of a great kingdom, only twenty miles off, with thirty millions of people; having the Christian religion restored, having a king at the head of the government, and having its fields, its gardens,

its meadows, its vineyards, its mills and its houses UNTITHED? If the other sights were hideous to the other parties, what was this sight to the clergy of England and Ireland?

216. Peace being restored, the long-prohibited intercourse between the two countries being again free, the English flocked to France; the rich, to gratify their curiosity; others, not rich, to live cheap; and all for the purpose of avoiding the taxes in England. Incessant accounts were received of the great benefits which these emigrants derived from their change of place. A large part of them were fundholders, pensioners, and others, kept out of the public money; so that here was a regular enormous drain of wealth from England, going to add riches and power to France. The ports opened by the peace, French cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, eggs, fruit, and various other things, came tumbling in upon us in abundance, the proceeds being taken away in gold and silver, and not left here for payment to absentees, as in the case of the importations from the unfortunate Ireland. To add to these causes of uneasiness, a reduction of the currency of the country (of which we shall have amply to speak by-and-by) had caused such a reduction of prices, that the landlords and farmers cried aloud to prevent the importation of corn; and, in answer to the arguments of the Ministers, who did not much relish the passing of a bill so unpopular and so

odions, the landowners said, and truly said, that they must be ruined, in a competition against France, *which was comparatively untaxed and untithed!* This was thunder; it was the thunder-bolt itself to the aristocracy, and more especially to the clergy. That single sentence amounted to an exhortation to the nation to *imitate France* in getting rid of taxes and tithes.

217. Therefore, every wheel was put in motion for the framing of an excuse *for not leaving France as she was*; and the course of events will clearly show, that we have here seen the *true grounds*, the real seeds, of the transactions, which produced the second fall of NAPOLEON. This is a matter of vast importance: stated in a plain proposition, it is this: that, even before the treaties above cited were formed, the English Government wished to bring France down lower; to do more injury to France than was about to be done, and that afterwards was done by those treaties; and that the second fall of NAPOLEON, and all the consequences of it with regard to France, which ensued from that second fall, and that this additional injury to France, were finally accomplished, by means arising from this source. This is a matter of so much importance, it has so many bearings of a deeply interesting character; it will be found so essential in the elucidating of subsequent events, that no details, however minute,

ought to be considered as unnecessary, if they tend to enable the reader to judge fairly with regard to the correctness or incorrectness of this proposition. The impression on the minds of men in general has been this : that **NAPOLÉON** was induced to quit Elba, and to come back to France, by the restless spirit of his partisans in that country, and by the opening which the disaffection for the **BOURBONS** made for his return ; that in short he came back, contrary to the wishes of the government of England especially ; and that that Government, as well as the rest of the Allies, afterwards punished him, by imprisonment for life, for having broken a treaty to which they wished him to adhere. This has been the impression on the minds of men in general ; but, let us see whether a detail of the circumstances can possibly leave a doubt in the mind of any man, that his return was a thing desired, if not absolutely contrived, by those Governments, and especially that of England, who had been his greatest enemies, and who wished to make that return a pretence for doing further injury to the French nation, and to make it drink still deeper of the cup of humiliation.

218. It is, and for many years has been, the practice of the English Government to make use of that portion of the press, which it contrives to have under its control, to prepare the public mind for any great step which it has in

its contemplation to take. At the time which I am now speaking of (April and May, 1814), the two principal journals of London, devoted to its service, was a paper called the **TIMES**; which, on account of its brutal and sanguinary doctrines, has been usually called the "*Bloody*." The other journal was called the **COURIER**. Before, even before the treaty with the **BOURBONS** was formed, these journals were incessant in their endeavours to produce a civil war in France; to blacken the character of the French army; to prevail on the allied sovereigns to break the convention which had been made for the release of prisoners of war; and that, too, for the purpose of preventing the French prisoners from returning home; to endeavour to prevail on the same Allies (in violation of the said convention), who had stipulated that their armies should quit France by the first day of June, to keep them still in France, proposing, at the same time, that England should pay the said troops, while so kept in France; to endeavour to prevail on the Allies to compel the King of France to reduce his army in such a manner as to render his kingdom defenceless, suggesting, at the same time, that the treaty of alliance made between France and the Allies against **NAPOLÉON**, should now be revived against the King of France, and be continued in full force for twenty years to come; to prevail upon

the Allies (let the reader mark it well !) to strip the museums and galleries of Paris of the statues, pictures, and other valuable curiosities, brought by the French armies from countries which they had conquered ; to inculcate the doctrine, that France, though NAPOLEON was overthrown, was still the same ; that she was radically and systematically the enemy of England, and that suspicions and jealousies of France ought still to be awake in the English bosom, as much as they were before NAPOLEON's fall.

219. Now, if such, without the smallest misrepresentation or exaggeration, was the language of these Government journals, even while the before-cited treaties of Paris were negotiating ; and, if we afterwards saw the allied sovereigns keep up an army in France for five years ; if we afterwards saw the museums and galleries of Paris stripped of their statues and pictures ; can the mind of any man refuse to see a conviction, that these last-mentioned things were, at the very least, anxiously desired by the Government of England, at the time when the treaties of Paris were forming ; and can that mind refuse to receive the further conviction, that that Government rejoiced at, if it did not actually contrive and instigate, the return of NAPOLEON, in order to obtain an excuse to accomplish ends so much desired, and which ends it did not accomplish by the before-cited treaties of Paris ?

220. The next chapter will clearly develop all these matters in the most satisfactory manner. It is a subject of the very greatest importance, because this return led to consequences, and lasting consequences, with regard to the rights, liberties, and lives of Englishmen. The primary cause of this long and bloody war was, to prevent the example of France from being a temptation to the people of England to reform the parliament, and thereby curtail the unjust power of the aristocracy, and diminish the enormous abuses in the church. This was the primary object of the war: the mere restoration of the Bourbons, in 1814, had not effected this object. It was necessary that BUONAPARTE should return, in order that there might be a pretence for humbling France in the dust; for compelling her to pay a tribute to the kings; for degrading her in all sorts of ways; and, above all things, for compelling her to have a national debt, and to load herself with taxes equal to the taxes of England. How far all this was accomplished we shall see in the sequel; but in the next chapter we shall see how the grand scheme was begun to be put in operation.

CHAPTER V.

Return of Napoleon from Elba.—Flight of the Bourbons to Ghent.—Battle of Waterloo.—Surrender of Napoleon, in 1815; His imprisonment at St. Helena; Consequences of these events; Peace with France of 1815.

221. WE are now approaching that celebrated victory of WATERLOO, which has produced to England more real shame; more real and substantial disgrace; more debt; more distress, amongst the middle class, and more misery amongst the working class; greater inroads upon the ancient institutions, the laws, and liberties of the country; more injuries of all sorts, than the kingdom ever experienced from a hundred defeats, whether by land or by sea.

222. The reader has seen, in the foregoing chapter, that the English government (in which I include the parliament) were extremely uneasy, lest France, left, as she was, by the Treaties of PARIS (which the reader will find following paragraph 209), would bound forward in a

career of prosperity hitherto unknown in France. She being comparatively unloaded by debt, unshackled by tithes, game laws, excise, and turnpike tolls; the English government saw that enough had not been done; and that, somehow or another, France must be rendered worse off; or that there could be no safety for borough-mongering, tithes, and debt, in England. I must beg the reader to go over the foregoing chapter again; and then to proceed with me.

223. The proposition which I mean to make good, and which it is of the greatest possible importance to the cause of truth to make clear to the minds of my readers, is this, *that the English government most anxiously wished for the return of Napoleon to France*. Whether it actually contrived it the reader must be left to judge for himself, I wishing to lead him into no inference not fully borne out by the facts of the case. We have seen how discontented this government was with the result of the Treaty of PARIS; we have seen the effects of a few months of peace with France; and how alarming those effects were, and necessarily must have been, to the English government; and, let us now look at the conduct of that government with regard to the escape of NAPOLEON from ELBA, and of the measures it was fully prepared to adopt the moment he landed in France.

224. NAPOLEON landed in the bay of JUAN on the 1st of March, 1815. Common mortals were struck with surprise at this event. This government had him a safe prisoner in a small island in the Mediterranean Sea; this government had an officer living at ELBA to watch NAPOLEON; the sea was covered with English cruisers of all sizes; how was he to escape in a little sloop, and, with divers persons along with him, safely land, without interruption, in France? The officer stationed at ELBA to watch him came to England immediately after NAPOLEON's return to France; and, instead of being censured and disgraced, was highly honoured, and was presented to the Prince Regent, and received with every mark of Royal approbation. How is this to be accounted for, unless we believe, that the English government desired to see NAPOLEON return? But, besides these circumstances, there are two others, without looking at which, we have but a comparatively feeble light upon the subject. At the time when NAPOLEON landed, the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, England, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Sweden, were all assembled at VIENNA. They were there for God knows what real purpose; but the pretence was, to settle some matters which were left unsettled by the Treaty of Paris of May, 1814. Now, look well at the dates. He landed in France on the 1st of March; on the 13th of

that same month, only eleven clear days after his landing, these plenipotentiaries issued what they called the "Declaration of the Allies," which Declaration was in the following words :—

DECLARATION OF THE ALLIES.

The Powers who have signed the Treaty of Paris, assembled at the Congress at Vienna, being informed of the escape of NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them. By thus breaking the convention which has established him in the island of Elba, Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended—by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The Powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They declare at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain entire the Treaty of Paris of the 30th May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that Treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts; that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to guarantee against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions. And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate Sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; all the Sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real dan-

ger, they will be ready to give to the King of France, and to the French nation, or to any other Government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it. The present Declaration inserted in the Register of the Congress assembled at Vienna, on the 13th March, 1815, shall be made public. Done and attested by the Plenipotentiaries of the High Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, Vienna, 13th March, 1815.

Austria.—Prince Metternich, Baron Wissembourg.

France.—Prince Talleyrand, the Duke of Dalberg, Latour de Maubourg, Count Alexis and Noailles.

Great Britain.—Wellington, Clancarty, Cathcart, Stewart.

Portugal.—Count Palmella Saldanha Lobo.

Prussia.—Prince Hardenberg, Baron Humboldt.

Russia.—Count Razumowsky, Count Stoeckelberg, Count Nesselrode.

Spain.—P. Gomez Labrador.

Sweden.—Lafmenhelm. ●

225. Now, besides the next to impossibility of all these people having had time to be duly informed of the landing of NAPOLEON; there is a perfect physical impossibility, that WELLINGTON, and his assessors, should have received any instructions upon the subject from their government; unless we allow that government to have been gifted with the power of foreseeing events. There were only eleven days, observe. The news did not reach England until the 15th of March, or thereabouts; so that it is absolutely impossible that WELLINGTON and his assessors could have received any instructions on the subject on the 13th of March. How came WEL-

LINGTON and his associates, then, to sign a declaration of war against NAPOLEON? How came they to take such a liberty as this? How came they to enter into an alliance for the purpose of fighting NAPOLEON? In short, it is impossible not to believe that his return was in the contemplation of the English government; in its contemplation, at least; and that WELLINGTON had received instructions accordingly; for it is quite impossible to believe that any ambassador to a mere congress appointed for other matters, would, without specific authority, have joined in a declaration of war against a sovereign *de facto*, and against the French nation, beforehand, and without any act of aggression committed on their part.

226. The other circumstance strongly corroborative, is this: that, after the conclusion of the Treaty of PARIS, in the month of May, 1814, the English government had gone into the war against the United States of America with tenfold fury; great forces had been sent thither; the most violent warfare had been commenced; it had been openly declared in the House of Commons itself, that there was to be no peace with America until the President MADISON should be deposed; and that there could be no peace for regular government until the republican constitution of America should be put down. This was the tone in England; it was the fashionable

talk ; it was looked upon as a matter of course, that there was to be no peace with America until those objects were effected ; and this talk continued from the date of the Treaty of PARIS, all through the summer, and nearly up to Christmas. Forces were, during that time, daily going out to add to the armies and the fleets in America. Her negotiators for peace were forbidden to stay in LONDON, and GHENT was appointed as a place for carrying on the negotiations. The Americans, though victorious in their battles, wanted peace ; were extremely anxious to obtain it ; while the English government drawled out the negotiations with the manifest object of not making peace. At last it proposed a *sine qua non* ; that is to say, terms without the Americans acceding to which it would never make peace. Public opinion being in this state in England, how were we all astonished, in the Christmas week of 1814, to hear that peace had been all at once concluded with the United States on Christmas-eve, without any of us having ever heard the whisper of a reason for such a thing ! It was, however, concluded ; and, as we shall see, when we come to the history of this American war, concluded, too, with an abandonment of every particle of the *sine qua non* ! If England had been invaded by the Americans, and if they had actually captured PORTSMOUTH and PLYMOUTH, a more tame and disgraceful sur-

render of pretensions and rescinding of protestations could not have taken place. When this kingdom makes peace with another power, it invariably observes the ancient custom of publicly *proclaiming that peace*, by *heralds*, accompanied by trumpets, and with all possible grandeur of parade, proceeding from the King's council at Whitehall into the city of London, and there repeating the proclamation in the presence of the Lord Mayor and other authorities of that great city. But, so disgraceful was this transaction felt to be ; so ashamed were the government of it, that there was no public proclamation at all upon this occasion, but a mere notification in the Gazette ; though it was a treaty of such vast and vital importance to the kingdoms.

227. Now, where are we to find a sufficient reason for so sudden and so great a change of policy ? We had no other enemy to cope with ; we found that fifty millions could be laid out the next year in a war against NAPOLEON ; we had an army and a fleet that we did not know what to do with ; a declaration had been made, in parliament, by Sir JOSEPH YORKE, then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, " that the deposition of President MADISON was necessary to " our interest ;" and Sir JOSEPH YORKE had not been contradicted either by any minister or member of the House. The ministerial press had called Mr. MADISON " a traitor," and

“a rebel”; and yet, all at once, the government, this proud and insolent government, forms a treaty of peace and friendship with this same JAMES MADISON, giving up every principle for which it had contended; and a treaty, in all respects, as disgraceful as if it had been dictated by an invader on Portadown Hill. Why, there was no reason for making this disgraceful bend of the knee; there could be no reason for it, except the government anticipated some such event as that of a new war against France. In the Prince Regent’s speech to the parliament, delivered on the 8th of November of the same year (1814), he speaks in the most sanguine strain of the war against the Americans, praises the troops for their destructive proceedings at WASHINGTON; brags that he has produced on the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of war, in which they, he says, had been wantonly involved by their own government; boasts of having conquered a part of the United States; and concludes by stating, that the state of affairs in Europe has enabled him to dispatch a considerable force to operate against the Americans, and to be ready for the opening of the next campaign: and, in forty-six days after having delivered this speech to the parliament, he makes, with these Americans, the all-surrendering and disgraceful peace just mentioned.

228. It is not to be believed that this would

have been done, if there had not been some cause, with which the public were never made acquainted. But, upon the supposition that the government expected the return of NAPOLEON, and his second putting down, and the new and disgraceful terms imposed upon France: upon this supposition, this sudden and disgraceful peace with the Americans was perfectly natural. For, if NAPOLEON had landed in France, and the war with America had been still going on, all Europe combined would not have been able to put him down a second time. There would have been so powerful a diversion in favour of France, that our government could not have proceeded with any chance of putting an end to the war in a less space than several years. The American ships had shown their superiority over ours; what there remained of the French fleet would have been manned and used by the Americans in conjunction with the French; that which American mercantile greediness, and English intrigue and English gold, had prevented for twenty-two long years, would now have taken place; that which NAPOLEON, and the democrats of America, never could accomplish, would now have been accomplished at once; namely, *a cordial alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and America*; which would have baffled all the projects of this government, rendered all its subsidies useless,

and have counteracted and defeated all its intrigues.

229. By the Treaty of GHENT, before-mentioned, this danger was avoided; and the stage was cleared, as it were, for a battle of all Europe against NAPOLEON. The parliament met on the 8th of November, 1814, and continued to sit, with occasional adjournments, until the 22nd of August, 1815. It was occupied, until the landing of NAPOLEON, with voting immense sums of money into the hands of the Prince Regent and his ministers, and with everlasting speeches on the necessity of watching the French narrowly; thundering invectives against NAPOLEON, though he was put down; and on the necessity of being prepared for war. These were bad signs; but still nobody dreamed that there would arise any occasion for any of these preparations. But, on the 6th of April, after most terrible fulminations in the two houses against NAPOLEON; after three months of speeches of abuse on him and on the French people, came a message to the parliament from the Prince Regent, in the following words:—

George P. R. The "Prince Regent, acting in the name
" and on the behalf of his Majesty, thinks it right to in-
" form the House of Commons, that the events which
" have recently occurred in France, in direct contra-
" vention of the engagements concluded with the Allied
" Powers, at Paris, in the month of April last, and which
" threaten consequences highly dangerous to the tranquillity

“ and independence of Europe, have induced his Royal
“ Highness to give directions for the augmentation of his
“ Majesty’s land and sea forces.—The Prince Regent has
“ likewise deemed it incumbent upon him, to lose no time in
“ entering into *communications* with his Majesty’s Allies
“ for the purpose of forming such a concert as may most ef-
“ fectually provide FOR THE GENERAL AND PERMANENT SE-
“ CURITY OF EUROPE. And his Royal Highness confidently
“ relies on the support of the House of Commons, in all mea-
“ sures which may be necessary for the accomplishment of
“ this important object.”

230. This language was artfully moderate ; but it proposed an augmentation of the land and sea forces. It did not, indeed, talk decidedly of war against NAPOLEON ; but, what there was deficient in it, in this respect, was amply made up for by the speeches of the ministers, and, indeed, of the members on both sides of the House, which breathed against NAPOLEON a war of absolute extermination. Upon this occasion the vocabulary of our language seems to have been ransacked, in order to make NAPOLEON and the French people objects of abhorrence and detestation in England. The people were told, that they never could be relieved from their burdens until NAPOLEON should be again put down. The people, in several instances, answered by petitions, praying that peace might be preserved with France ; but, everything was prepared ; and the government and parliament, for the reasons before-mentioned, were resolved upon war. The language of the government press was, in sub-

stance, this: that it was not BUONAPARTE, but the French people who were to be subdued; that it was the sort of government, and state of things, in France; that the Bourbons were to be disregarded, and were either to be set aside altogether, or were to be compelled to *have a national debt*; and to cause such laws to be made, and executed, as should keep the people in a state of complete subjection; that morality was the *cause of God*; that the French system, and the minds of the French people, were essentially immoral; and that England, as a moral and christian country, was called upon by God to put down the French people, and to destroy their system.

231. Very much in the same strain was the language in both Houses of parliament. But, it is here necessary to be particular, because we have to show here the grounds upon which this new and most expensive war was undertaken. We must have, in order to have a clear idea of the causes which produced this war, the very words made use of by the parties, because it is impossible to give in any statement, narrative, analysis, or abstract, an adequate idea of the feelings that were at work in the producing of this sanguinary and most expensive war. We must have the actors, or rather the speakers, before us; hear their words, and almost behold their agitated action. It is not enough, that we

know that the government went to war to put down NAPOLEON the second time; it is not enough, that we see good reason to believe that they wished his return, in order to have this war; we must have their very words; we must know who it was that had the chief hand in producing this event, which added not less than fifty millions to the debt, and a million a-year to the half-pay people, and other idlers, created by this war. To say that such and such things were said in parliament, is by no means sufficient; we must, upon an occasion like this, have the names and very words of the parties. The Prince Regent's *message* was in moderate terms; but the members of the two Houses of parliament, and of both factions, took care to supply in bitterness of expression that which it was thought prudent to leave out in the message. I shall here take the expressions made use of, not precisely in the order in which they were delivered, but as applicable to the several topics to which they related. The public having been duly prepared by the hired press, which was the vilest instrument of delusion and of tyranny that ever existed in the world, the members of the two Houses of parliament came forth in their speeches, sent about by the press, with their invectives against NAPOLEON and the French, and with everything that they could rake up to make the people believe that it was just and necessary

again to plunge this kingdom into war, never even glancing at the *real motives* for such war. Of all the acts of this government this was, perhaps, the act which proceeded from the worst motive. All the professed motives were false; all the claims, all the feigned dangers, all the hypocritical charges against the French of being immoral and impious, all was false. The real motive was to degrade the French nation; to load it with debt; to make it miserable; and thereby to take from before the eyes of the people of England an example of prosperity in the absence of a domineering aristocracy, and of tithes, and in the absence of swarms of devouring fundholders. It had been seen that France would exhibit this example in a light too strong for the people of England not to desire to imitate it, and therefore it was determined to destroy that example.

232. NAPOLEON, upon his first landing, had issued a declaration of his pacific intentions; intentions which were unquestionably sincere, because he knew well that the people of France wished for peace. But the government of England did not wish for peace. It was his interest to have peace; he offered to abide by all the terms of the Treaty of PARIS; he offered to confirm every agreement made with the Allies by the Bourbons. He particularly addressed himself to the government of England; the go-

vernment of England referred him to the congress at VIENNA; and thus he was shuffled off by the English government, until all the bargain should be made, and all the subsidies provided for making a general attack upon him. He had met with no opposition in France; on the contrary, the Bourbons had fled out of France, and gone to GHENT, the moment they heard that he was landed. He still clung to his stupid title of *Emperor*, and talked of his *august* spouse, and his *august* family; but still the people of France received him with open arms, and rejoiced most sincerely at the decamping of the Bourbons. In this state of things it was that the language of which I am about to give a specimen, was made use of in the two Houses of parliament:—

The Earl of LIVERPOOL said, that we were compelled again to have recourse to arms, and to renew the contest against that power, and that *system*, which had been the parent of such tremendous calamities :.....that the *state of things* in France afforded no security for peace without the most imminent danger to other nations :.....that, with *such a government* as that of France, animated with such a spirit, and acting upon such principles, it was impossible to expect with safety to remain in a state of peace :.....that he himself was *desirous* that France should have a *limited government*, founded on principles of a nature similar to those which prevailed in THIS COUNTRY. He knew that it had been a matter of speculation how far a free constitution could be maintained in France, together with that large military force, which, on account of her extensive frontier, numerous fortresses, and from other causes, it might be necessary for that country to keep up even in time of peace. It had been contended by some, that so large a military establishment was incompatible

with a limited government; but whether that opinion was well or ill founded, this at least was clear, that under such circumstances, it was impossible that a free constitution could exist where the head of the government was a military chief, who owed his situation to the sword, and whose title arose from, and was founded on the sword. There was no individual under whose sway it was so totally impossible that any thing like a limited government could exist, as that individual whose title depended on the sword, whose fame, whose power, and all that rendered him distinguished, arose from, and was connected with war and conquest. At the period of the invasion of France, the general impression in that country was, that under him there was no hope of a permanent limited government; and the common opinion was, that so desirable an object would be best secured under the sway of the old family. There was, in the very circumstance of the government being in the hands of the old and legitimate family, which formed the best security for the permanence and support of a limited system. If the restoration of the old family, therefore, would be beneficial to the whole of the rest of Europe, it would be in the highest degree favourable to France. Then could any one so completely shut his eyes to all that happened during the last fourteen or fifteen years, as to believe that this country or Europe could with safety enjoy a state of repose, while the PLAN and SYSTEM of government remained as it was at present? that in the whole of Europe there was only one sentiment, and the sovereigns had the means and the will to resist a system, the existence of which must be destructive of all hopes of secure and permanent tranquillity. That the Allies wished not to see France abandoned to the ravages of war, her provinces or her resources curtailed, but only such a government existing in that country as would afford security to the rest of Europe. In this view he thought it would be generally admitted, that the restoration of Louis XVIII. to his throne was an object dear to the heart, not only from feelings of SYMPATHY, but from a principle of general expediency. That the argument, then, was this: in the first place, you clearly had a just cause of war against THAT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE, which experience had decidedly proved to be incompatible with the peace and independence

of the nations of Europe: next, you had, at present, means of opposing that system which you could not reasonably hope to possess at a future time; and the question was, whether, under these circumstances, it was not incumbent upon you to take advantage of this state of things, and *oppose so* PERNICIOUS A SYSTEM, whilst the amplest means of resistance were in your power. That we had a right to say, that France shall not have a government which threatens the repose of other nations. that we ought not to refuse to join in crushing one of the greatest evils that ever existed.

Lord GRENVILLE said, was it nothing now to be desired to sanction a system under which Europe had so long groaned, with such an army and such a chief at its head? If his disposition was said to have undergone some change, his situation again was now changed; and as the army was formerly upheld by spoliation and plunder, so now, for the same objects, he was recalled by his former instruments, who alone could maintain him in his regained power. As to new constitutions, he was firmly of opinion, that a good constitution could only be formed by the adaptation of remedies from time to time, under the circumstances which required them. That seemed the only means of accomplishing that difficult work. The only instance of exception mentioned was that of America: but that did not apply. The founders of that constitution acted with great wisdom. It was framed so as to produce as little change as possible in the existing laws and manners under the altered form of government, which, though a republic, was constructed as nearly as the difference would admit, on the monarchical form of our OWN CONSTITUTION.

Lord CASTLEREAGH observed, that in this case it is impossible to separate the government from the nation.

Mr. GRATTAN said, that the French government is a state-ocracy: that the French constitution was war, and that Buonaparte was the man best calculated to support it. that with Mr. Burke's authority, with Mr. Fox's practice, and with the opinions and conduct of others whom it would wear out a day to name, he was against a treaty founded on the chances of Buonaparte's giving liberty to France, at the certain hazard of the independence of Europe. If we had no right to dictate a government to France, we had a right to say to France,

"You shall not choose a government, the object of which is to raise all your strength against Europe." As to the government of Louis XVIII., which he would rather speak of as *interrupted* than *subverted*, it was mildness itself compared to that of Buonaparte. It was free under it to discuss all questions of church or ministry, or political or *religious intolerance*, and the science of government and *philosophy*, and *intolerantion advanced* under it, and there was at least an amenity in France that rendered a great nation amiable. It was now proposed to subject that race of people to a *pure oriental despotism*. There was a sort of monstrous unreality in the *revived system of government*, that stated nothing as it is, and every thing as it was not. (Hear.) The *whole state was corrupted*. He would ask whether by treaty they would confirm in the heart of Europe a military domination founded on triumph over civil rights, and which had made the experiment of governing a great nation without any religion, and which aimed at governing Europe by means of breaking oaths and deposing Kings? (Hear.) If they would agree to confirm that system,—if they would degrade the honour of England,—if they would forget the value of morals, and despise the obligations of religion,—if they would astonish all our allies by such a confirmation, would not Europe exclaim against us, and say, "You have kindly assisted and
 "generously contributed to our deliverance; and do you at
 "the most urgent moment fall back? In vain have you so
 "long opposed and borne up against the flying fortunes of the
 "world; in vain have you taken the eagles from the hands of
 "the invaders; in vain have you snatched invincibility from
 "the standards of the foe! Now, when all Europe is ready
 "to march, are you, who were in the front before, the fore-
 "most to take the lead in desertion?"

Mr. C. WYNNE quoted a number of historical facts, to show that it had always been necessary to curb the ambition of FRANCE, and contrasted the approaching meeting in Paris, to accept the new constitution, under the influence of a military despotism, with the FREEDOM OF ELECTION IN ENGLAND, where all the troops were removed from the spot where it took place.

The Earl of LIVERPOOL said, indeed, what other alternative was left but war, or an armed peace, almost equivalent to war in point of expense, and leaving the country in a feverish

state of anxiety as to defence? Supposing a treaty with Buonaparte, could any man contemplate a *peace establishment in the old sense of that phrase*? The country could only have a *feverish and disturbed repose*. The system of armed defence was calamitous in itself, and one of which the country had had no experience. He admitted that circumstances might exist in which an armed peace might be preferable to war; if, for instance, the powers of Europe had not been prepared, or were indisposed to the contest, in that case an armed peace would be preferable, though it would still be an **ALTERNATIVE OF EXCESSIVE EVIL**.

Lord BATHURST observed, that it was not possible for us to avoid war *sooner or later*; that, next year, Buonaparte's power would be more *formidable than this year*; that we went to war to *secure ourselves against alarming danger*.

Lord GRENVILLE said, that we were under the *fatal necessity* of going to war; that war was not only necessary but *unavoidable*; that there was *no option* left us, nor any long time for *deliberation*; that we were placed by an *imperious necessity* in a state to do what could not be avoided; that in *this situation we were called on to adopt the means calculated to avert the greatest dangers*. No words of which he was *'master*; nothing that the page of history recorded, appeared adequate to impress on their Lordships' minds the situation in which we were now placed. If such means were required from any, to place in full view the dangers of removing the barriers against French ambition and aggression, and the necessity that must exist if they were not removed, he should despair.

Mr. GRATTAN said, that, as to the ability of opposing aggression, he hoped none would live to see the time when England, together with the rest of Europe, would be obliged to truckle before France, and when these islands would seek an *humble situation under the French Imperial Eagle*. What would be our situation if we abandoned our alliance? State it as you please, it must be first of all an *armed peace*. No Minister would venture to disarm the country in such a case. This armed peace would be followed by the evils of a *corruption of manners*, and a vastly increased expenditure; and that would be followed by a renewal of war. You might then have no alliance, certainly not so strong an alliance as you have; while

your enemy would be confirmed in his title, and have full opportunity to arm himself. Instead of fighting for the French crown, you would give him the chance of *fighting for the English crown*..... You are not to consider about what money you must spend, BUT WHAT FORTUNES YOU MAY BE ABLE TO KEEP. On the very principle of *economy*, you are to consider that you will not expend more by war than by remaining at peace, with the demands of a war establishment.

Mr. PLUNKETT said, that he considered that we had, in fact, *no option between peace and war*. As for peace, we could have no more than a feverish, *unrefreshing dream of peace still haunted by the spectre of war*. In point of finances, we should find a peace with a war establishment would be much greater than war. If we did not now go to war in conjunction with all the great powers of Europe, we would *soon be reduced to a war single-handed against France*. If we did not now invade France, and carry on the war upon her territories, the time might come when *our country would become the seat of war, and we would fall unoppressed and despised*. If we were now to turn our back upon the great powers that were our Allies, we would deserve that all nations should turn their backs upon us, when we began to feel the consequences of our impolicy.

Lord MILTON observed, that it was better to *have war with the advantages of war, than peace without the advantages of peace*; and considering, as he did, that no faith could be placed in the present ruler of France, he thought the only *real security we could have was to be found in a vigorous war*.

Lord CASTLEREAGH said, when the proper period arrived, he was prepared to justify them as carrying into execution, not only in substance, but almost in all the details, *that plan which had been formed by a statesman, from whom he, and those who acted with him, must ever feel the highest deference and admiration*—Mr. PITT. He (Mr. Pitt), when contemplating the possible success of a great confederation against France, had considered that general arrangement which had been in a great measure carried into effect, to be that which would prove most conducive to the happiness of Europe. He (Lord Castlereagh) was prepared to show, when the question came before the House, that the decisions which had been made with respect to the immediate interests of this country,

were more advantageous than those fondly contemplated by Mr. Pitt, as the consequences of successful war. He had not hoped that such good conditions could be obtained for Holland as had been secured at the Congress. Mr. Pitt had considered it necessary to extend the power of Prussia beyond the Rhine, and the annexation of Genoa with Piedmont was a part of his plan, much as that arrangement had of late been censured by those in opposition to the present Government. At an early period of the late war, at least when the successes of the Allies had first given a prospect of a successful termination of the struggle against France, soon after the Russian army had crossed the Vistula, he (Lord Castlereagh) had transmitted a copy of the dispatch of Mr. Pitt to the ambassador of the Emperor Alexander, and desired to be apprized if any and what alteration had taken place in the views of Russia with respect to that plan in the event of the contest being brought to a successful issue. The answer to this communication informed him, that "the Emperor of Russia had nothing to state in departure from the principles of the arrangement laid down by Mr. Pitt in 1805." This was some proof of their solidity, and on these principles England had gone into the contest closely united in the views with her Allies. Acting on these feelings, which had regulated his conduct, however he might be sensible that it was not possible that an arrangement with any particular power could fix the relations of all Europe; and feeling as he did, that as all Europe must co-operate in the great work, it could only be effected in a spirit of compromise; yet was it no small satisfaction to him, and to all who revered the politics of that great statesman, Mr. Pitt, as he did, that they had lived to see that reduced to practice which his great mind, when given to the consideration of this important question, had fondly imagined in the abstract as the utmost of his wishes. He (Lord Castlereagh) had endeavoured to open the general ground of the war, trusting much to the MIND, the INTELLIGENCE, the EXPERIENCE, and EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE of the HOUSE! which had, for twenty-five years, dwelt on passing events. Although painful to his feelings to make a proposition of this nature, instead of realizing those BRILLIANT PROSPECTS of peace and security, which, after so many exertions, the country had a right to

contemplate, yet *he felt much consolation* in comparing our present situation with that in which we stood in the *course of former wars*. We were not now contending for our own safety, without a single ally, against the power of the enemy. Let the House recollect, that even at that moment, when engaged in the prosecution of our own moral duty, our aid was required for Portugal and Spain, we had not hesitated to interpose our strong hand: we had felt bold in the justice of our cause, and became *the protectors of other countries*. This resolution had been pursued with a degree of perseverance which did honour to the country. *We had struggled through the storm*—we survived the period of calamity, and had the satisfaction of seeing those two nations freed, and the whole of Europe confederated against France, instead of being combined against us. It was therefore evident, that we now started from a different point. *We were then fighting against France, and the whole power of Europe*. All Europe was now contending *with us against France*: nay, a strong combination in France itself was probably formed on our side, so that *we were fighting with the Powers of the Continent and a portion of France, against the usurpation of Buonaparte and of the army*...
.....As far as Austria was concerned, there were in full operation, ready to act and be put in motion, an army of 150,000 men in Italy, sufficient of itself to satisfy the stipulations in the treaty. But this power would have an army of extent in another quarter towards the Rhine, so that instead of 150,000, we might consider the operating and effective army to amount to 300,000 men.—With respect to the Russian force, he had the satisfaction to state, that the Emperor had engaged in the present contest with that decision which marked the whole of his conduct throughout the late eventful war, and had resolved to call out a great part of the forces of his mighty empire. General Barclay de Tolly was at the head of as fine an army as ever was called out on service in any country, having such ample means of selection in their power. The force in the ranks under him, which would arrive at the Rhine, amounted to 225,000 men; and as this army was accompanied by a number of volunteers, it would arrive at the Rhine as complete in numbers as when it left the Russian empire. There was assembled besides on the frontiers another

army of 150,000 men, under General Wittgenstein; and the Emperor had signified to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent his readiness to put in motion this army, if exigencies should render such a measure necessary. No money that it was in our power to grant could create such an army—all that we could possibly do was to assist them in their efforts. That force of 225,000 men was very nearly advanced to the Rhine, and in such a state of military efficiency as was never exceeded by any army.—The third Power which had made such great exertions during the last war, to the great admiration of every man, had not confined himself to the stipulations of the treaty, but had six corps, of 236,000 men in the whole, in an effective state. But the House were entitled to inquire from him, and he was anxious to anticipate them in their wish for information, whether our pecuniary assistance was to be confided to the three great Powers, and whether such other Powers as might join the common cause were to share all the difficulties, without receiving any extent of assistance. He thought it right that the House should know what was the extent of that description of force, and what was the value of the aid which they were likely to receive from us. Having stated the force of the great Powers, he did not wish to enter into a statement of the force of each subordinate Power. Considering Great Britain and Holland separately, he would estimate the other Powers together—some of them would bring considerable forces into the field; Bavaria, for instance, had an army of 60,000 men of the very best description. The force which that Power, with Wirtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Saxony, the Hanse Towns, and the small States on the Rhine, would bring into the field, amounted to 150,000 men, besides what was already stated. That collective mass was independent of the force of the three great Powers, and the force of Great Britain and Holland.—The British force would be 50,000 men, and the King of the Netherlands was to furnish an equal amount of 50,000 men to the Confederacy. There were actually 30,000 of them in service and in the field, and the remainder of the force was in a state of preparation, and was expected to be soon ready. Taking, therefore, the whole collective force—

Austria	300,000
Russia	225,000
Prussia	236,000
Collective States of Germany	150,000
Great Britain	50,000
Holland	50,000
	<hr/>
	1,011,000

—it formed a total of one million and eleven thousand men, exclusive of the army of the Emperor of Russia, assembled on the frontiers of his dominions, and ready to act in case of exigency.

The Earl of LIVERPOOL said, that the sentiments of the bulk of the French nation were *extremely* averse to Napoleon.

Mr. GRATTAN observed, that the French power had in other respects been diminished. Buonaparte had *no cavalry*; he had *no money*; he had *no title*, nor *any credit*. The people had *never regretted his absence*; on the contrary, they were *overjoyed at it*. Indeed, how could they regret the man who had imposed on them a military yoke—who had *taken their money by his own decrees*—who had *robbed them of their children* by an arbitrary conscription? The people would not rise in favour and support of a conqueror who had proved himself an oppressor of France. On the contrary, they would be glad to see the Allies triumph over him; for they must clearly see, that when the conqueror was removed the oppressor would be removed also. The first Powers of Europe had now united to remove the oppressor; and it would be ridiculous to suppose that the French people would break their oaths to a mild and merciful Sovereign, for the purpose of saddling themselves with the *eternal damnation of a military despotism*. That his (Napoleon's) power was at present tottering to the very base.

Mr. PLUNKETT said, that if we were to tell the French people that we were ready to negotiate with Buonaparte as their ruler, it would at once destroy all the hopes that might now fairly be entertained of the co-operation of a considerable portion of the nation. When, however, we saw the situation in

which Buonaparte now stood ; when we saw him reduced to make professions *contrary to his very nature* ; when we saw the vessel in which his fortunes were embarked labouring with the storm, and its mast bowed down to the water's edge, it would be the height of impolicy and absurdity to hesitate on the cause that we had to pursue.

Lord CASTLEREACH said, that the military force of ALL THE REST OF EUROPE was combined against the HALF OF FRANCE.

Mr. PLUNKETT said, that we had now a most powerful combination of Allies, *not fomented by us*, but acting from the *moral feeling which pervades all Europe*. If we were foolish enough to throw away those means, we could never hope to recall them. Those of his friends who had talked the most about husbanding the resources of the country, had confessed, that when an occasion should arrive, when some important blow could be struck against the enemy, that system should be no longer persevered in. That important crisis had now arrived. It was vain to expect that a more favourable opportunity would ever arrive. All the great powers of Europe were now with us, and a considerable portion of the population of France.

233. Such was the language, the at once bullying and hypocritical language, made use of upon this occasion. Not a word was here said about the real ultimate objects, supposing the allies to succeed ; not a word about inflicting a tribute and a debt upon France ; not a word about taking away her frontier towns ; not a word about crippling her for a hundred years to come ; not a single word about making her so miserable as to silence the reformers in England, and to make people shudder at the thought of abolishing tithes ; not a word of all these ; it was the *peace, morality, religion, and social happiness*

of the world, that these humane, pious, and generous creatures had in view. They carefully abstained, too, from stating their ultimate intentions with regard to the Bourbons, except as far as merely related to the bringing of them back again; not thinking it necessary, apparently, as the king of France was one of the *allies*, to say anything upon this subject; and not by any means intimating to the people of France, that they meant to load them with a debt to defray the expense of subjugating them; and that they graciously intended further to strip those museums of which the people of PARIS were so stupidly proud. All these things, the reader will perceive, were carefully kept out of sight. He will see, however, in the sequel, that these things were not forgotten; and he will also see, that, though the mischief was done to France, mischief, full as great, to England was done by the same means; mischief, which she will never cease to feel the effects of, until she have spirit enough to get rid of the burden, which she suffered to be brought upon her for the purpose of doing this mischief to France; or rather, to freedom and justice in England. Thus it was that this new war was determined on. NAPOLEON, in the meanwhile, was very busy in making a new constitution for France, still preserving his title of *Emperor*, and all the foolish and nonsensical attributes which he had before assumed,

and of the ridiculous vanity, giving rise to which, it seemed that nothing could cure him. From this childish work he was very soon summoned by the approach of *eight hundred thousand* mercenaries, of all nations, towards the RHINE. Notwithstanding the unpopularity of his emperorship, he soon got an army together, quite sufficient, if there had been no treachery in it, to have defeated all his foes; but it was all treachery. Some of the principal persons having charge of the police at PARIS were corrupted; and, though, perhaps, the fact is not to be ascertained upon oath, there can be very little doubt that there was monstrous treachery in the army itself. The Duke of WELLINGTON was the General-in-Chief of the armies of the allies. To attempt to describe the marchings and counter-marchings of these myriads of men, would be vain. It is possible that something like a correct description might be contained in a large volume; but it has nothing really to do with my object; which is to show the motives by which this government was actuated, the measures proceeding from those motives, and the consequences of those measures; and the use of doing this, is, not only to enable the people to form a just judgment of the past conduct of their government, but to induce them to watch its movements in future.

234. By the rapidity of his movements, NAPO-

LEON got into BELGIUM before a great part of the allies had reached the RHINE; but WRELLINGTON was there with his army of English, and the Hanoverians and Prussians were also ready. The battle (for there was but one) was fought at a place called WATERLOO; and, suffice it to say, that the French were completely defeated, and that NAPOLEON, with the remnant of his army, retreated towards PARIS with all possible speed. Before we look at the conduct of the allies towards France, we must follow NAPOLEON, which we may do with great rapidity, to the end of his *Imperial* career, and also to the end of his life.

235. His conduct, after the battle of WATERLOO, was the most contemptible, the most ridiculously base, of that of any man that ever lived. Beaten, abandoned, become nothing, his execrable vanity still clung to him. Before he marched towards the RHINE, he had made, as was observed before, a new constitution for France, which provided for two legislative bodies. Having fled back to PARIS, where he was much about in the condition of a fox which has gone to earth, knowing that the hounds are just at his heels, he, in this state, sent a message to the legislative bodies, calling upon them to take measures for the re-organization of his army, and for replacing the arms, ammunition, and baggage, almost the whole of which had been

lost. The assemblies, who were not such fools as to think that his affairs were to be retrieved, received his imperial message in a manner very nearly bordering upon scorn. Perceiving this, he sent them another message, informing them that he had abdicated in favour of his son ! This message, after exciting very turbulent debates, produced, at last, the appointing of a council of regency. The next day BUONAPARTE sent to the assemblies the following declaration to the French people :

BUONAPARTE'S DECLARATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

FRENCHMEN !—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the Powers against me. Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power ! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son under the title of Napoleon II. Emperor of the French. The present Ministers will provisionally form the Council of the Government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to form, without delay, the Regency by a law. Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

236. Nothing that can be imagined could possibly have been more contemptible than this. What right had he, supposing him to have had the power to do it, to appoint, or nominate, or say

anything about, his successor to the throne of France? And then, where was his power, of which he had no more than any one of the mice within the walls of PARIS? The fly, in the fable of LAFONTAINE, which, sitting on the harness of the coach-horse, said to the horses "How we drag it along!" the vanity of that fly was not greater than the vanity of this man upon this occasion. The assemblies seem to have had a little more sense: the two chambers declared their sittings to be permanent; they appointed a provisional executive government; they adopted vigorous measures for preserving the peace; they graciously received the offers of service of many bodies of the people; but they took especial care to say not a word about resistance of the allies; and, in short, they made every preparation for delivering up PARIS and the whole of their country, very quietly, into the hands of its invaders, who very soon came, bringing the King of France in their train; and, as we shall by-and-by see, went very methodically to work to do everything, the necessity of doing which had been so strongly urged by the hired press of England, but of which I shall no further speak at present, having to pursue the vain NAPOLEON to his end.

237. Having abdicated, and performed the ridiculous antics mentioned before, he, with a parcel of his favourites, escaped from PARIS in

disguise, and reached the little town of ROCHFORD, in Brittany. There he got on board of a brig of war, hoisted a flag of truce, went to the English ship, the *BELLEROPHON*, and, on the 14th of July, surrendered himself a prisoner of war to Captain MAITLAND, the commander of that ship. Captain MAITLAND, of course, soon brought him to England; and, that it might be as far from gaping London as possible, he took him, very judiciously, to PLYMOUTH. He had with him one Lieutenant-General with a wife and three children, two other Lieutenant-Generals, several other persons, his "personal surgeon," besides forty other persons, and great heaps of money and diamonds. Already there were baseness and poltroonery enough; but, as if he had had a mind to overdo it, he addressed the following letter to the Prince Regent from PLYMOUTH :

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,—A prey to the factions which distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest Powers of Europe, I have ended my political career; and, like Themistocles, I seek an asylum among a foreign people. I place myself under the protection of British laws, which I invoke from your Royal Highness, the most powerful, the most determined, and the most generous of my enemies.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

238. In the first place, here is a calumny on the French people. He had not been a prey to any factions; he had been a prey to his own insolent vanity. THEMISTOCLES, indeed! What an empty

cockcomb it must have been! Much he knew about British *laws*! This is like his dogmatical gabble recorded by his biographers. He was, with regard to us, a *prisoner of war*, and nothing more; and, with regard to the King of France, he was simply a rebel. If we chose we had a right to deliver him up to his sovereign, as one of his subjects; and as a prisoner of war, who had laid down his arms and surrendered himself to us, we might have given him his liberty, and have suffered him to remain here, if we had chosen; but his pretensions to write letters to the King of England were no better than they would have been in any other prisoner of war. He had been called an Emperor; and he had been a great soldier; and he had had kings at his feet, brought there by the bravery of the French people; but, having turned fool, having married into the families of kings, having become insufferably vain and insolent, and having wanted the courage to retrieve his affairs, he had come down again to that which he had risen from; and he really was no more in the eye of the laws of England, than any common soldier taken at the battle of WATERLOO. But what excites our loathing here, is his excessive baseness. *Invoking* from George the Fourth protection, and calling him the most "generous" of his enemies, deserved a death once a day for fifty years. Why, I will be bound

to find a hundred thousand men in England, each of whom would have suffered any death that you could have inflicted upon him, rather than have called George the Fourth "*generous*." It may be said, that he was in the power of George the Fourth ; but were there no razors, no pen-knives, on board the *BELLEROPHON* ? Had his "personal surgeon" no laudanum, or other potent drug ? There was the sea, at any rate. It was hard if he could not have got some one to tie a shot to his heels. When an American was told, not long before this very time, that he, having been born in America before the rebellion, might avoid ruin by claiming his rights of allegiance as a subject of the king, he exclaimed, "What ! are there neither razors nor ropes in England ?" I do not believe that an act of baseness equal to this was ever before committed by any man of any nation.

239. It was not long, however, before this act of baseness received a suitable punishment. It was settled by our Government that he should be conveyed on board an English ship to the island of *St. HELENA* : and here it is of importance to observe, that this very island had been, *while he was at ELBA*, pointed out as a proper place to send him to ; and the hired press distinctly proposed that he should be sent from *ELBA* to this very island of *St. HELENA*. He was taken, in the month of August, from on board the *BELLEROPHON*.

PHON, and put on board the NORTHUMBERLAND, commanded by Sir GEORGE COCKBURN. The ship sailed with him, in the early part of that month; and the voyage was of about the usual length. Orders were sent out to provide a residence for him in the island, where he was to be guarded day and night by English soldiers. Part of his property was taken from him. The total of it was of very great amount. And it is very curious that, in all his hurry and confusion, he did not forget to commit this act of plunder upon the French nation. Every shilling's worth of valuable effects, found in his chests, ought to have been taken, and sent to the treasury of France. The great thing of all which he seems to have taken care of, was the amassing of wealth for himself and the divers members of his family. Before he sailed, he sent a protest to the Government, dated on board the BELLEROPHON, on the 10th of August; and this protest is, if possible, more childish and stupid than the letter to the Prince Regent. The following are the words:

I solemnly protest, before God and man, against the violation of my sacred rights, in disposing by force of my person and my liberty: I came voluntarily on board the Bellerophon; I am not a prisoner, I am a guest of England. As soon as I was seated on board the Bellerophon, I was upon the *hearth* of the British people. If the Government, in giving orders to the Captain of the Bellerophon to receive me and my suite on board, meant no more than to hold out an ambush, it has forfeited its honour and tarnished its flag. If this act be consummated, in vain will the people of England

boast to Europe of their honour, of their laws, and their liberty. British faith will be buried in the hospitality of the Bellerophon. I appeal to history: it will say that an enemy who for twenty years made war upon England, came freely in his adversity, and claimed the protection of its laws. Could he give a more flattering proof of his esteem and of his confidence? But how did the English reply to so much magnanimity? They pretend to hold out a hospitable hand to this enemy; and when he gave himself up to their faith, they sacrificed him.

NAPOLEON.

*Dated on Board the Bellerophon,
at sea, Aug. 4.*

240. Here we have all the vanity, all the dogmatical nonsense, all the wild notions, all the affectation of smartness, of a French coxcomb. He did not come voluntarily on board the BELLEROPHON; he came to save himself from the dangers of war. He was engaged in war against England; he was in flight from the arms of England; he came under a flag of truce, and did not surrender himself; he was a prisoner of war, and not a guest. The captain received him, not in consequence of any particular orders, but received him as a fugitive enemy, and spared his life; and, therefore, in making him a prisoner of war, and treating him as such, the captain laid no ambush, and did not forfeit his honour and tarnish his flag. The observation, that "British faith will be buried in the hospitality of the Bellerophon," is either bad translation, or downright nonsense. His claiming *the protection of our laws*; the very expression shows,

that he had no clear notion of what law was. Our laws gave him no protection, other than that of war. He was an alien ; as such it was in the power of the King to order him out of his dominions, as it would have been in the power of Captain MAITLAND to have refused to receive him in any other capacity than as a prisoner of war. For him to talk of esteem and confidence is another instance of baseness : but what does he mean by "*magnanimity* ? " The conduct of our Government was very bad, but it never held out the hand of hospitality to him ; and it did not, and it could not, pledge its faith to him.

241. The English government acted a very bad part in this case. He was an alien-enemy ; a fugitive from actual fight against England ; he came in that character, and, to save his own life and his plunder, he surrendered himself on board an English man-of-war. He was, therefore, according to all the principles and usages of war, and according to the laws of England, a prisoner of war ; and if our government had acted the part which became it, it would have kept him prisoner of war, until the signing of a treaty of peace with France ; and then, as in the case of all other prisoners of war, it would have set him at liberty, or have landed him in France. Instead of this it determined to keep him a prisoner for life, he having committed no crime against the laws of this country ; and it, therefore, was guilty

of that, which every just man must condemn. But he was not a guest in England: and there was no violation of law in not setting him at liberty. To St. HELENA he went; and there he remained, and talked away the rest of his life, while his gabbling companions were writing down his words, or pretended words, to be moulded into books, for the amusement of the idlers who lounge about in public reading places in England. This sort of life he led, having every thing that he wanted to eat, drink, and wear, until the 5th of May, 1820, when he died, and when he was buried in that same island. Towards the close of his life, and indeed for several years before that, intelligence relating to him became a matter of curiosity rather than of interest, and of slender curiosity too. Great battles tell well for the day; but, the hero who wins them must *end* well, in order for the battles to be recurred to with interest. Lord NELSON, lucky throughout his life, was still more lucky in his death. His victories will always be remembered with delight, and never be spoken of unaccompanied with his own name: but victories fade, when he who has gained them has faded.

242. The great error of NAPOLEON arose from his incurable vanity. He had under him the bravest armies that the world ever saw; the nation who sent forth those armies bade him go and put down all tyrants; he proceeded well in

the work, and would have finished it; but he would himself be a tyrant; he would himself be the head of a dynasty of tyrants; to the last moment the at once ridiculous and impious arrogance clung to his heart; to his last hour he would be called "Emperor:" and, perhaps, "your Majesty," were the last two words that saluted his ears. The French nation sent him forth in the name of liberty; they gave him the power to fulfil their desires and commands; he misused his power, he betrayed his trust, and he had his just reward; and though the British government acted unjustly in the case, God has ordained that one crime shall, in most cases, be punished by the commission of another. It may be truly said of him, as Dr. JOHNSON said of Charles the Twelfth, that

He left a name, at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale.

243. Having dismissed this man with quite as much ceremony as he deserved at our hands, we must now go back to the high allies, and see how they proceeded to effect the humiliation of the French people, and the discouragement of all other nations to attempt a resistance to despotism. PARIS was full of traitors to the French nation: there is very little question of monstrous treason having been at work, in the army, before, and at, and subsequent to, the battle of

WATERLOO. We have seen before, that the allied crowned gentlemen had a million of bayonets to push forward at the breast of France; but still there is every reason to believe, that there were forty or fifty times as many guineas employed to effect this great object. The financial accounts of this year, as published by the House of Commons, served to explain this matter pretty satisfactorily, for the expenditure for this one year amounted to *a hundred and thirty millions of pounds sterling!* So that this was not a cheap victory, at any rate. The victory was, in fact, *purchased*: and it is the debt, arising, in considerable part, from this one victory, which is now (1833) shaking this great kingdom to its very centre, and bringing our ancient establishments tumbling down about our ears.

244. The allies did not push at once to PARIS, till Austrians, Russians, Prussians, Hanoverians, and all had got together, so as to enter France at all points in the north and towards the east; and in order also to give the treason at PARIS time to get NAPOLEON out of the way by some means or another. His "*flight*" was a very curious affair. He had about two hundred miles to go to ROCHFORD, in Brittany. He got there perfectly in *secret*, though he had a retinue, as we have seen, of upwards of fifty persons with him, and had forty or fifty large cases of plate and jewellery, and valuable effects: all which savoured

very little of a "flight;" but a great deal of deliberate contrivance on his part, and of settled connivance on the part of the allies. Very much did it resemble the flight of CHARLES the Tenth, in 1830, when his successor, the "*citizen king*," allowed him to be pretty nearly a month before he sailed from CHERBOURG, and allowed him to bring away cases of effects of various sorts, sufficient to load two merchant-ships of four hundred tons each. One ship-load of which effects I myself saw, ready packed-up, at HOLYROOD House, at EDINBURGH, a little while after the departure of CHARLES, in 1832. There can be no doubt in the mind of any man, who has not a taste for being duped, that the vain NAPOLEON was suffered to escape by connivance, and by the understood convention with the agents of the allies. It is clear that he had brought his soul down to the base degree of being content with permission to live in England unmolested. The whole of his conduct, after going on board the BELLEROPHON, proves this. He was most likely disposed to go to the United States, and was encouraged to believe that that was possible; but, getting to the sea-shore, and seeing the next to impossibility of effecting this, he then sought the other infamous alternative.

245. Having got him clear out of their way; seeing the French people without a head, and knowing that there was a traitor or a spy at

every hundred yards, the gallant conquerors of France marched forwards to PARIS, suffering old LOUIS to come after them, with his "high-minded and loyal noblesse," from GHENT. Before we notice the effects which were produced in England by this event, we must first have before us the memorable treaties which were the result of the bringing back of NAPOLEON and of the battle of WATERLOO, referring, at the same time, to the "declaration of the allies," issued at VIENNA, and inserted in paragraph 224 of this History. That "declaration" was signed by the plenipotentiaries of France, as well as those of Austria, England, Prussia, Russia, and the rest. The *King of France was one of the "high allies;"* and, therefore, as it was an undertaking of the allies, it was the undertaking of the King of France as well as of the rest. It was a common cause of all the parties against NAPOLEON alone. Yet the moment NAPOLEON was gone, the allies entered France as conquerors: they called themselves conquerors; and there was the curious sight for the world to behold; a king, calling himself "*LOUIS the well-beloved,*" re-entering his dominions to put down the power of an usurper; re-entering it as a king desired and beloved by his people, and as one of his country's conquerors at the same time! However, as conquerors, the English, the Austrians, the Russians, and the Prussians,

did enter France ; and they soon convinced the world that NAPOLEON had not been brought back from ELBA for nothing.

246. It was very soon perceived, that the "Declaration of VIENNA," just referred to, was a mere invention to deceive the world, and that the allies were, at that very moment, meditating the complete re-subjugation of the French people, and the crippling of the French nation for ages. In their march towards PARIS, they treated the people, everywhere, as a conquered and subjugated people. There was scarcely a soldier of the five hundred thousands that crowded into France, except, perhaps, a part of the English army, that had not run away before the French, or owed his life to their clemency. They now exhibited cowardice in its most distinctive character ; namely, in insolence and cruelty towards those whom they hated because they had been defeated by them. They now paid off, upon the feeble and unarmed French, the long score of that disgrace which the brave men of that nation had compelled them to bear. Concurrently, and in character with this their conduct, was the language of all the corrupt and stupid part of the community in England, where the affair was talked of as a *conquest*, as a matter of course ; and where the vile newspapers were taught to cry, more loudly than ever, for, now that we had it in our power, taking vengeance

on France; crippling France; compelling the French to submit to what was called the "social system," thereby meaning, generally speaking, despotism; and, as pointed more immediately to England, meaning a government of the few, without any participation of the many, government for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many; or, in two words, Boroughmongering government. Not to the vile newspapers, however, must we confine our recollections. In the parliament, the affair was spoken of as a conquest; and the way was paved there for those Treaties, those monstrous demands upon the king of France, which were speedily to follow. We shall by-and-by see, that the conquerors descended, at last, even to the stripping of galleries and museums at PARIS; and it must not be forgotten, that the allies were hardly got to PARIS, before Mr. BANKES, then member for CORFE CASTLE, and more recently member for Dorsetshire, and then principal trustee for the British Museum, expressed his hope, "that the museums would not be suffered to remain with their present contents in the *twice-conquered city of Paris*."

247. It is right, and it is necessary, in order to do justice to the parties here, now to turn back to paragraph 232, to see what was said in this same House of Commons, and also in the House of Lords, only a very few weeks before, at the

time when the allies were preparing for marching against NAPOLEON ; and I beg the reader to turn to that paragraph, and to look again at the professions of English legislators at that time. Then, all that they wanted was security against the great disturber, NAPOLEON ; then not a word was said about conquests, about an intention to enfeeble France, and not a whisper about stripping her museums ; then the professed desire was, to restore to France a mild and paternal government, and, to use the words of GRATTAN, " to deliver her from the eternal damnation of a military despotism ; " then, so far from professing a desire to impose humiliating conditions on France, the members of both houses expressed a most anxious desire to see her great and to see her happy ; then, so far from uttering any expressions of hostility towards the *French people*, you will find them, if you refer to the paragraph just mentioned, repeatedly saying, that they had one half of the French people decidedly with them against NAPOLEON ; then they represented NAPOLEON as the only enemy that they had to combat, as the only source of danger, and the only cause of alarm. This was their language in the month of April ; but, in the month of June, NAPOLEON, being in a state of flight ; NAPOLEON being, in fact, put down completely ; NAPOLEON being a fugitive, and five hundred thousand hostile bayonets having invaded France ;

now the tone of the boroughmonger-orators was wholly changed; now it was the French *people*; it was the French "*mind*;" now it was the "soul engendered by the revolution," that it was necessary to change or to destroy. Now these very same men had the indecency to suggest the stripping of the museums of the "twice conquered city" of PARIS. Now it was necessary to deprive *France* (not NAPOLEON any longer) of the power of "disturbing the peace of the world" and "oversetting the social system," which latter was a favourite phrase of that Lord CASTLEREAGH, whose very natural end I shall by-and-by have to record.

248. Thus backed on, the plenipotentiaries at PARIS set to work, in good earnest, crippling and stripping, imposing tributes, and loading with debt and taxes. The scheme of the boroughmongers of England, in particular, was to load the French nation with debt; to establish a system of funding, such as had enabled them for so many years to prevent a reform of the parliament in England. They knew that the effectual way of keeping down a people was to create bands of usurers to take their earnings from them, and keep them poor; they knew that the more that could be taken from the industrious part of the people, and given to idlers, the more secure would be their power; and, if they could effect the establishment of a system like this in France,

they thought they should ensure their power over the French government as their tool to grind down the French people. If this system made the French king hated by his people, so much the better for the boroughmongers ; for then he became more dependent upon them. This, therefore, was a grand object with the English boroughmongers ; and this object to a great extent they effected by the treaties which we are now about to see. In their haste, in their hurry, and in the pleasing agitation of triumph, they, as well as their cunning agents, wholly overlooked the cost of this profound scheme ; they wholly overlooked the ultimate consequence of delivering an industrious people over to bands of usurers called fundholders ; being so eager to effect their object of permanently keeping the people down, they seemed not to have reflected upon the possibility of finally bringing themselves down by the same means. Against any open resistance on the part of the people, they were prepared, they thought, by an everlasting standing army and a Bourbon police ; and, as to a resistance of taxation on the part of the people, they no more thought than the farmer's wife thinks of resistance on the part of the bees, when she is about to take their honey by suffocating them with brimstone, in the fall of the year.

249. We shall by-and-by see that they deceived themselves in this respect ; but, in the

meanwhile, they acted upon these principles and with these views, in dictating to the degraded Bourbon the treaty of PARIS of the 20th of November, 1815. As to the other "high allies," they, actuated by the same general principles of hostility towards the rights of the people, had each of them his own separate interests to provide for, in the enfeebling and crippling of France. Then came the savage Russians, the plotting Austrians, the up-start and greedy Prussians, all of whom had run like hares before the republican soldiers of France; then came they all, aided by their brother conqueror the Bourbon, to demand the surrender of those frontier-towns, which were necessary to the defence and tranquillity of France, and which had been won by the valour of her soldiers. Not only the surrender of towns of that description, but of other towns, which were in the possession of France *before the first revolution*; and "LOUIS the well-beloved" had the scandalous poltroonery to consent to such a treaty. It was a conquest, and this king was one of the conquerors; it was a conquest effected by a combination of all the kings and emperors against one people, but not effected without a hundred millions of English money, the employment of which money, and other sums for similar purposes, is now shaking the hierarchy of England to pieces, that being

one of the first of the consequences of the enterprise of which we are now speaking.

250. Besides the cession of towns and of territory, we shall find the treaty imposing a *tribute* on the French nation, as remuneration to the several potentates for the trouble and expense of conquering and stripping them ; and, as if this were not sufficient to show the gratitude of the allies for having had the support of “ *one half* ” of the people of France, the people of France were to maintain two hundred thousand foreign troops for five years, to be stationed in France, in order “ to protect them in the enjoyment of their liberty and happiness ! ” But there is no description of this treaty, or rather set of treaties, that can possibly do justice to this part of the history of these times. We must see the treaties themselves, or we have but a faint idea of the reality. Documents of this sort, of this very great importance, cannot be adequately described : to know what they were, we must see them and read them with attention. The public, at this moment, are nearly twenty years removed from the date of these treaties. The main body of the active men of the present day were children, or mere boys, when these treaties were made ; and it is them, and those who shall come after them, that we have to inform ; and we cannot give them solid information without

giving them the facts in detail, and all the formalities attending their promulgation. To profit fully from the information which I am now endeavouring to communicate to the English reader, he ought first to go back and read again the latter part of Chapter IV., where he will find the state of opinions in England described, previous to the return of NAPOLEON from ELBA. Then he should go to paragraph 224, and there read the "declaration of the allies" upon the landing of NAPOLEON from ELBA. He will there see their professions of disinterestedness with regard to France; he will there see that their declaration was against NAPOLEON, as the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world; he will there see that they pledge themselves to give effect to the late treaty of PARIS; he will there see that they declare their readiness to give assistance to the French king and the French people against the usurper and all his designs; and then, when he has read these treaties which I am now about to insert, he will find them treating France as a conquered nation; he will find them parcelling out her territory, taking from her even a part of her ancient dominions, extorting a tribute from her, keeping military occupation of France herself for five years, standing by with a bayonet in hand, to compel the people to submit to any slavery imposed by their tool, the Bourbon king; loading them with a debt, and placing them un-

der the merciless claws of bands of usurers ; and thus leaving them blasted by a tyranny which they manifestly expected to be perpetual. Horrible as this view of their conduct and motives is, no man that reads the following treaties can have any other view of that conduct and of those motives.

GENERAL TREATY WITH FRANCE.

The Allied Powers having by their exertions, and the triumph of their arms, preserved France and Europe from the convulsions with which they were threatened by the late enterprise of Napoleon Buonaparte, and by the revolutionary system introduced into France for its support ; as they now participate with his most Christian Majesty in the wish, by the inviolable maintenance of royal dignity, and by restoring the validity of the Constitutional Charter, to confirm the order happily re-established in France, and to bring back between France and its neighbours those relations founded upon reciprocal confidence and good-will, which the mournful consequences of the revolution and system of conquest had so long interrupted ; and as they are convinced that their last object cannot be attained, except by an arrangement calculated to give them just indemnity for the past, and solid security for the future—They have therefore, in common with his Majesty the King of France, deliberated on the means of bringing about such an arrangement ; and as they have *convinced themselves* that the indemnities due to the Powers cannot consist wholly either in cessions of territory or in pecuniary payments, without greatly injuring the essential interests of France in one way or the other, and that it is better so to unite them as to avoid both disadvantages ; their Imperial and Royal Majesties have therefore taken this as the basis of the present negotiations, and have also agreed upon it as a basis, that it is necessary, during a certain time, to keep the frontier provinces of France occupied by a certain number of the Allied troops ; and have agreed to unite in a definitive

treaty the several dispositions founded upon these bases. In this view, and to this end, His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Hanover, for himself and his Allies on one side, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre on the other side, have appointed for their Plenipotentiaries to discuss, agree on, and sign the Definitive Treaty.—(Here are the names of the ministers.) Their full power having been exchanged and found in due order, have signed the following articles :—

Art. I. The frontiers of France remain as they were in 1700, with the exception of the reciprocal modifications in this Article :—

1. In the North the frontier line remains as it was fixed in the treaty of Paris, till opposite Quevornain, thence it goes along the ancient frontiers of the Belgic provinces, of the former Bishoprick of Leige, and of the Duchy of Bouillon, as they were in 1790, so that the territories of Marienburgh and Philippeville, with the fortresses of the same name, and the whole Duchy of Bouillon, remain without the French frontiers. From Villars, by Orval, on the frontiers of the department of the Ardennes, and the Duchy of Luxemburg, as far as Perle, on the road leading from Thionville to Treves, the frontier line remains as it was fixed in the Treaty of Paris. From Perle it goes over Launsdorf, Wallnich, Schardorf, Nuderweiling, Pelleweller, which places, with their banlieurs, all remain to France; to Honore and along the old frontiers of the district of Saarbruck, so that Saarlouis and the course of the Saar, with the places on the right of the above-mentioned line, with their banlieurs, will come without the French frontiers. From the frontiers of the district of Saarbruck the frontier line shall be the same which now separates the departments of the Lower Rhine from Germany, as far as to the boundary, to its junction with the Rhine, the whole of the territory lying on the left bank of the Lanta, including the fortresses of Landau, shall belong to Germany. The town of Wiessemberg, however, which is intersected by this river, remains wholly to France, with a rayon on the left bank; this rayon must not exceed 1000 toises, and will be more particularly determined by the Commissioners who will hereafter be appointed to regulate the frontiers.

2. From the mouth of the Lanta along the departments of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, the Doubs, and the Sarat as far the Canton of Vaud, the frontiers remain as they are fixed in the Treaty of Paris. The Thalweg of the Rhine shall be the line of separation between France and the German states, but the property of the island as it will be determined in consequence of a new examination of the course of that river, shall remain unchanged, whatever alterations the course of the river may in process of time undergo. Commissioners shall be appointed within three months by the High Contracting Powers, on both sides, in order to make the said examination. The half of the bridge between Strasburgh and Kehl shall belong to France, and the other half to the Grand Duchy of Baden.

3. To restore a direct communication between the Canton of Geneva and Switzerland, that part of the territory of Gex which is bounded on the east by the Lake of Geneva, on the south by the territory of the Canton of Geneva, on the north by the Canton of Vaud, and on the west by the course of the Versoix, and a line which comprehends the Communes of Collex, Bosoy, and Megreïs, but leaves the Commune of Ferney to France, is ceded to the Swiss confederation, and united with the Canton of Geneva.

4. From the frontier of the Canton of Geneva to the Mediterranean, the frontier line is the same as that which, in 1798, separated France from Savoy and the county of Nice. The relations which the treaty of 1814 had re-established between France and the Principality of Monaco shall for ever cease, and the same relations take place between that Principality and the kingdom of Sardinia.

5. All territories and districts included within the frontier of France, as fixed by the present Article, remain united to France.

6. The Contracting Powers shall appoint, within three months after the signature of the present Treaty, Commissioners to regulate every thing respecting the fixing of the frontiers on both sides, and as soon as those Commissioners have finished their labours, maps shall be made, and frontier posts set up, to mark the respective boundaries.

Art. II. The fortresses and territories which, by the pre-

ceding article, are no longer to belong to the French territory, will be given up to the Allied Powers, in the period specified in the Military Convention, annexed to the 9th Article of the present Treaty; and his Majesty the King of France renounces for ever, for himself, his heirs and successors, the right of sovereignty and property which he hitherto exercised over the said fortresses and territories.

Art. III. As the fortifications of Huningen have always been a ground of uneasiness to the City of Basle, the High Contracting Powers, to give to Switzerland a fresh proof of their care and good-will, have agreed among themselves to have the fortifications of Huningen razed, and the French Government engages, for the same reasons, never to repair them, and not to erect any other fortifications within three leagues of the City of Basle.

The neutrality of Switzerland shall be extended to that piece of territory which lies north of a line to be drawn from Ugine, that place included, on the south of the Lake of Annecy, over La Verge (in the Bremen Gazette, La Vergy), to Lecherroine, and from thence to the Lake of Bourget and the Rhone, in the same manner as is fixed by the 22nd Article of the final Act of the Congress of Vienna, in respect to the province of Chablais and Faucigny.

The troops, therefore, which the King of Sardinia may have in these provinces, whenever the Powers adjacent to Switzerland are in a state of open hostility, or are on the eve of such a state, shall retire, and may for that purpose take, in case of need, the way over the Vallois; but no armed troops of any other Power can pass through, or be stationed in, the above provinces, except such as Switzerland thinks fit to send thither; but this state of things must not hinder the administration of these countries, as the civil officers of the King of Sardinia may employ the Municipal Guard for the maintenance of good order.

Art. IV. That part of the indemnity to be given by France to the Allied Powers, which consists in money, is fixed to the sum of 700 millions of francs. The manner, the periods, and the securities of the payment of this sum, shall be regulated by a separate Convention, which shall be equally valid and

binding as if they were inserted word for word in the present treaty.

Art. V. As the state of confusion and fermentation which France necessarily feels after so many violent convulsions, and particularly after the late catastrophe, notwithstanding the paternal intentions of the King, and the advantages which all classes of the subjects necessarily derive from the Constitutional Charter, makes some measures of precaution and temporary guarantee necessary for the security of the neighbouring States, it has been considered as absolutely requisite to occupy, for a fixed time, positions along the frontiers of France, by a corps of Allied troops, under the express reservation that this occupation shall not infringe on the sovereignty of his most Christian Majesty, nor on the state of possession, as fixed by this Treaty; the number of troops shall not exceed 150,000: The Commander-in-Chief is named by the Allied Powers. This army will occupy Conde, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, with Charlemont, Mezieres, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitsch, and the Tete de Pont of Fort Louis. As France is to provide for the maintenance of this army, every thing relative to this object shall be regulated in a separate Convention. In this Convention, which shall be as valid as if inserted word for word in this Treaty, the relations shall be fixed between the occupying army and the civil and military authorities of the country. This military occupation cannot last above five years, and may end before that period. The Allied Sovereigns, after an expiration of three years, and after they have first, in agreement with the King of France, maturely weighed the situation and mutual interest as well as the progress which the re-establishment of order and peace may have made in France, have recognised in common that the motives which induced this measure no longer exist. But, whatever may be the result of this deliverance, all the places and positions occupied by the Allied troops will, at the expiration of five years, be evacuated without further delay, and given up to his most Christian Majesty, or his heirs and successors.

Art. VI. All the other foreign troops, not belonging to the

army of occupation, shall quit the French territory in the periods fixed in the Military Convention annexed to the 9th Article of the present Treaty.

Art. VII. In all countries which shall change Sovereigns, as well in virtue of the present Treaty as of the arrangements which are to be made in consequence thereof, a period of six years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications shall be allowed to the inhabitants, natives or foreigners, of whatever condition and nation they may be, to dispose of their property, if they should think fit so to do, and to retire to whatever country they may choose.

Art. VIII. All the dispositions of the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, relative to the Countries ceded by that Treaty, shall equally apply to the several territories and districts ceded by the present Treaty.

Art. IX. The High Contracting Parties having caused representation to be made of the different claims arising out of the non-execution of the 19th and following articles of the Treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, as well as of the additional articles of that Treaty signed between Great Britain and France, desiring to render more efficacious the stipulations made thereby, and having determined by two separate Conventions the line to be pursued on each side for that purpose, the said two Conventions, as annexed to the present Treaty, shall, in order to secure complete execution of the above-mentioned articles, have the same force and effect as if the same were inserted word for word herein.

Art. X. All Prisoners taken during the hostilities, as well as all Hostages which may have been carried off or given, shall be restored in the shortest time possible. The same shall be the case with respect to the prisoners taken previously to the Treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, and who shall not already have been restored.

Art. XI. The Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May 1814, and the final Act of the Congress of Vienna of the 9th of June 1815, are confirmed, and shall be maintained in all such of their enactments which shall not have been modified by the articles of the present Treaty.

Art. XII. The present Treaty, with the Conventions annexed thereto, shall be ratified in one act, and the ratifications

thereof shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner, if possible.—In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(Signed)	(L.S.)	CASTLEREAGH.
	(L.S.)	WELLINGTON.
	(L.S.)	RICHELIEU.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

The High Contracting Powers, sincerely desiring to give effect to the measures on which they deliberated at the Congress of Vienna, relative to the complete and universal abolition of the Slave Trade, and having, each in their respective dominions, prohibited without restriction their Colonies and subjects from taking any part whatever in this traffic, engage to renew conjointly their efforts, with the view of securing final success to those principles which they proclaimed in the Declaration of the 4th of February 1815, and of concerting, without loss of time, through their Ministers at the Courts of London and of Paris, the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious, and so strongly condemned by the laws of religion and of nature. The present Additional Article shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty signed this day. It shall be included in the ratification of the said Treaty. In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(Signed)	(L.S.)	CASTLEREAGH.
	(L.S.)	WELLINGTON.
	(L.S.)	RICHELIEU.

SEPARATE ARTICLES SIGNED WITH RUSSIA ALONE.

In execution of the Additional Article of the 30th May, 1814, his most Christian Majesty engages to send, without delay, to Warsaw, one or more Commissioners to concur in

his name, according to the terms of the said article, in the examination and liquidation of the reciprocal claims of France and the late Duchy of Warsaw, and in all the arrangements relative to them. His most Christian Majesty recognises, in respect to the Emperor of Russia in his quality of King of Poland, the nullity of the Convention of Bayonne, well understood that this disposition cannot receive any application but conformably to the principles established in the Conventions mentioned in the 9th article of the Treaty of this day. The present separate article has the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed to it the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th of November, Year of Grace 1815.

[The Signatures.]

TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA, SIGNED AT PARIS THE 20TH NOVEMBER, 1815.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.—The purpose of the Alliance concluded at Vienna, the 25th day of March 1815, having been happily attained by the re-establishment in France of the order of things which the last criminal attempt of Napoleon Buonaparte had momentarily subverted; their Majesties the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Prussia, considering that the repose of Europe is essentially interwoven with the confirmation of the order of things founded on the maintenance of the Royal Authority and of the Constitutional Charter, and wishing to employ all their means to prevent the general tranquillity (the object of the wishes of mankind and the constant end of their efforts) from being again disturbed; desirous moreover to draw closer the ties which unite them for the common interests of their people, have resolved to give to the principles solemnly laid down in the Treaties of Chaumont of the 1st of March 1814, and of Vienna of the 25th of March 1815, the

application the most analogous to the present state of affairs, and to fix beforehand by a solemn treaty the principles which they propose to follow, in order to guarantee Europe from the dangers by which she may still be menaced; for which purpose the High Contracting Parties have named to discuss, settle, and sign the conditions of this Treaty, namely—[Here follow the names and titles of the Plenipotentiaries, viz. Lord Castlereagh, Duke of Wellington, Prince Metternich, and Baron of Wessenberg]—who, after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Art. I. The High Contracting Parties reciprocally promise to maintain, in its force and vigour, the treaty signed this day with his most Christian Majesty, and to see that the stipulations of the said treaty, as well as those of the particular Conventions which have reference thereto, shall be strictly and faithfully executed in their fullest extent.

Art. II. The High Contracting Parties, having engaged in the war which is just terminated for the purpose of maintaining inviolably the arrangements settled at Paris last year for the safety and interests of Europe, have judged it advisable to renew the said engagements by the present Act, and to confirm them as mutually obligatory, subject to the modifications contained in the Treaty signed this day with the Plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty, and particularly those by which Napoleon Buonaparte and his family, in pursuance of the Treaty of the 11th of April 1814, have been for ever excluded from supreme power in France, which exclusion the Contracting Powers bind themselves, by the present Act, to maintain in full vigour, and, should it be necessary, with the whole of their forces. And as the same revolutionary principles which upheld the last criminal usurpation might again, under other forms, convulse France, and thereby endanger the repose of other States; under these circumstances, the High Contracting Parties solemnly admitting it to be their duty to redouble their watchfulness for the tranquillity and interests of their people, engage, in case so unfortunate an event should again occur, to concert amongst themselves, and with his most Christian Majesty, the measures which they may judge necessary to be pursued for the

safety of their respective States, and for the general tranquillity of Europe.

Art. III. The High Contracting Parties, in agreeing with his most Christian Majesty that a line of military position in France should be occupied by a corps of the Allied troops during a certain number of years, had in view to secure, as far as lay in their power, the effect of the stipulations contained in Articles I. and II. of the present Treaty, and uniformly disposed to adopt every salutary measure calculated to secure the tranquillity of Europe by maintaining the order of things re-established in France, they engage, that in case the said body of troops should be attacked, or menaced with an attack, on the part of France, that the said Powers should be again obliged to place themselves on a war establishment against that Power, in order to maintain either of the said stipulations, or to secure and support the great interest to which they relate, each of the High Contracting Parties shall furnish, without delay, according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Chaumont, and especially in pursuance of the 7th and 8th Articles of this Treaty, its full contingent of sixty thousand men, in addition to the forces left in France, or such part of the said contingent as the exigency of the case may require should be put in motion.

Art. IV. If, unfortunately, the forces stipulated in the preceding Article should be found insufficient, the High Contracting Parties will concert together, without loss of time, as to the additional number of troops to be furnished by each for the support of the common cause; and they engage to employ, in case of need, the whole of their forces, in order to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination, reserving to themselves the right to prescribe, by common consent, such conditions of peace as shall hold out to Europe a sufficient guarantee against the recurrence of a similar calamity.

Art. V. The High Contracting Parties having agreed to the dispositions laid down in the preceding Articles, for the purpose of securing the effect of their engagements during the period of the temporary occupation, declare, moreover, that even after the expiration of this measure, the said engagements shall still remain in full force and vigour, for the purpose of carrying into effect such measures as may be

deemed necessary for the maintenance of the stipulations contained in the Articles I. and II. of the present Act.

Art. VI. To facilitate and to secure the execution of the present Treaty, and to consolidate the connexions which at the present moment so closely unite the Four Sovereigns for the happiness of the world, the High Contracting Parties have agreed to renew their meetings at fixed periods, either under the immediate auspices of the Sovereigns themselves, or by their respective Ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of those periods shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe.

Art. VII. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within two months, or sooner, if possible.—In faith of which the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and fixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th of November, A.D. 1815.

(Signed) (L.S.) CASTLEREAGH.
(L.S.) WELLINGTON.
(L.S.) METTERNICH.
(L.S.) WESSENERG.

NOTE.—Similar Treaties were signed on the same day by the Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty, with those of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, respectively.

COPY OF A NOTE ADDRESSED BY THE MINISTERS OF THE FOUR UNITED COURTS, TO THE DUKE OF RICHELIEU, ON THE 20TH OF NOVEMBER.

The undersigned, Ministers of the United Cabinets, have the honour to communicate to his Excellency the Duke of Richelieu, the new Treaty of Alliance which they have signed in the name and by the order of their august Sovereigns. A Treaty, the object of which is to give to the principles consecrated by the Treaties of Chaumont and Vienna, the application most analogous to present circumstances, and to connect the destiny of France with the common interests of Europe. The Allied Cabinets regard the stability of the

order of things, happily re-established in that country, as one of the essential bases of a solid and durable tranquillity. To that object their united efforts have constantly been directed; and their sincere desire to maintain and consolidate the result of those efforts has dictated all the stipulations of the new Treaty. His most Christian Majesty will in that act recognise the solicitude with which they have concerted the measures most proper for removing whatever might hereafter compromise the internal repose of France, and prepared remedies against the dangers with which the Royal Authority, the foundation of public order, might yet be menaced. The principles and intentions of the Allied Sovereigns are in this respect invariable. Of this, the engagements which they have now contracted, furnish the most unequivocal proof; but the lively interest they take in the satisfaction of his most Christian Majesty, as well as in the tranquillity and prosperity of his kingdom, induces them to hope that the occurrences provided against in these engagements will never be realized. The Allied Cabinets perceive the first guarantee of this hope in the enlightened principles, magnanimous sentiments, and personal virtues of his most Christian Majesty. His Majesty has recognised with them, that in a state which has, during the quarter of a century, been torn by revolutionary movements, it does not belong to force alone to reproduce calm in the minds, confidence in the hearts, and equilibrium in the different parts of the social body; and that wisdom must be joined with vigour, and moderation with firmness, in order to operate these happy changes. Far from fearing that his most Christian Majesty will ever lend an ear to imprudent or passionate counsels tending to nourish discontents, renew alarm, reanimate hatred and divisions, the Allied Cabinets are completely assured by the equally wise and generous dispositions which the King has announced in all the epochs of his reign, and particularly at that of his return, after the late criminal usurpation. They know that his Majesty will oppose to all the enemies of the public welfare and tranquillity of his kingdom, under whatever form they may present themselves, his attachment to the constitutional laws promulgated under his own auspices; his will decidedly pronounced, to be the father of all his subjects, without any dis-

tion of class or religion ; to efface even the recollection of the evils which they have suffered, and to preserve of past times only the good which Providence has caused to arise, even amidst public calamities. It is only thus that the wishes formed by the Allied Cabinets, for the preservation of the constitutional authority of his most Christian Majesty, for the happiness of his country, and for the maintenance of the peace of the world, can be crowned with a complete success, and that France, re-established on her ancient bases, can resume the place to which she is called in the European system. The undersigned have the honour to reiterate to his Excellency the Duke of Richelieu their high consideration.

(Signed)

METTERNICH.

CASTLEREAGH.

HARDENBERG.

CAPO D'ISTRIA.

Paris, Nov. 20.

251. Having read these treaties ; having thus taken a view of the workings of tyranny ; having seen this mass of odious insincerity, and of every thing monstrous in man ; having seen the English boroughmongers at the bottom of all this, and had the full means of estimating all their villanous motives ; having thus seen, and thus estimated, can we, who live in 1833, refrain from rejoicing at the humiliation which we have seen them endure since these transactions ; can we refrain from enjoying their present troubles ; can we refrain from being delighted at the dangers which now surround them ; can we refrain from hugging ourselves in the security which we derive from their alarms ; can we refrain from anticipating with inexpressible pleasure their future difficulties, embarrassments, uncertainties, trepidations, and their probable fate ; all arising from

their having acted in the hypocritical, cruel, rapacious, and cowardly manner, depicted in these transactions? But, thus viewed in the gross, and only in one great official piece of information, we do not yet see their conduct in its true and most striking light. There are frequently little spots ; spots little, when considered with regard to the whole surface, which are better calculated to give us a clear idea of the character and spirit of the parties to a transaction, than we can derive from a view of the whole of the picture all taken together. There were of this description many particular spots or points in these transactions, which might be noticed with great advantage to the mind of the reader. I shall content myself with two of these ; namely, **FIRST**, the putting to death of Marshal NEY (who had been created by NAPOLEON a Marshal and Prince of the Moskwa, who had joined NAPOLEON upon his landing from ELBA, and who was one of the Generals commanding the army in PARIS, when the Allies arrived, WELLINGTON being the General-in-Chief) ; and, **SECOND**, the stripping of the galleries and museums. These are two transactions which mark, in very striking colours, the character of the government during the regency and reign of this King, George the Fourth ; and, therefore, they are worthy of our particular attention.

252. LOUIS accused all those of rebellion and

treason who had been conspicuous in joining NAPOLEON on his return; but, soon after his return to PARIS, the Bourbon published an amnesty, reserving a few persons for condign punishment. Amongst these few was this Marshal NEY, who had risen to his high rank from very humble life, but who had seen, during his battles, kings and princes and nobles fleeing before him, like sheep before a dog. It was now the time for the high-blooded to avenge themselves; they had this man in a prison, and his blood, shed by the executioner, was to wipe out the disgrace which his skill and his valour had inflicted upon them. In the field they had not dared look him in the face; but, having him surrounded with jailers and executioners, they became bold, and screwed up their nerves to the battle. The safety of his life had been secured, as he thought, and as all the rest of mankind thought, by the convention, in virtue of which, PARIS was surrendered to the Allies; but he and the rest of mankind were mistaken; by a court-martial they condemned him to death, and to death they put him; and it is now my duty to lay the case before the people of England, that they may pass their judgment on the conduct of the parties concerning this deed.

258 First, however, we must have the Ordinance, as it was called, of this Bourbon King, which was in the following words:

ORDINANCE OF THE KING.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre. To all those who shall see these presents, health :—An account has been rendered to us that several Members of the Chambers of Peers have accepted seats in a *soi-disant* Chamber of Peers, named and assembled by the man who had usurped the power in our States, since the 20th March, until our return into the kingdom. It is beyond a doubt, that Peers of France, until they are rendered hereditary, have been able and may give in their resignation; for in that, they only dispose of interests that are purely personal to them. It is equally evident, that the acceptance of functions incompatible with the dignity with which one is invested, supposes and carries with it the resignation of that dignity, and in consequence the Peers who are in the situation above-mentioned have really abdicated their rank, and have in fact resigned the Peerage of France. For these causes we have ordered, and do order, what follows :—

Art. 1. Are no longer part of the Chamber of Peers the undermentioned :—

COUNTS—Clement de Ris, Colchen, Cornudet, d'Abeville.

MARSHAL DUKE OF—Dantzick.

COUNTS—De Croix, Dedely d'Agier, Dejean, Fabre de l'Aude, Gassendi, Lacpede, Latour Maubourg.

DUKES OF—Praslin, Plaisance.

MARSHALS DUKE OF—Elchingen, Albufera, Corneghiano, Treviso.

COUNTS—de Barral (Archbishop of Tours), Boissy d'Anglas.

DUKE—de Cadore.

COUNTS—de Canclaux, Cassabianca, de Montesquiou, Pontecoulant, Rampon, Segur, Valence, Belliard.

Art. 2. May be excepted however from the above disposition those who shall justify not having sat nor been willing to sit in the *soi-disant* Chamber of Peers, to which they had been called; they taking upon themselves to make that justification in the month following the publication of the present Ordinance.—Castle of the Tuilleries, 24th July, and 21st of our reign.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

By the King,

Prince de TALLEYRAND.

(Signed)

Louis, by the grace of God, &c.—Wishing, by the punishment of an attempt without example, but, graduating the punishment and limiting the number of the guilty, to conciliate the interest of our people, the dignity of our crown, and the tranquillity of Europe, with what we owe to justice and the entire security of all the other citizens without distinction:—We have declared and declare, ordered and order, what follows:—Article 1. The Generals and Officers who have betrayed the King before the 23rd of March, or who have attacked France and the Government with arms in their hands, and those who by violence have obtained possession of power, shall be arrested and carried before the competent Councils of War, in their respective Divisions, viz.—

Ney, Labedoyere, the two Lallemands, Drouet d'Erlon, Lefebvre Desnouettes, Améilh, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouet, Cambrone Lavalette, Rovigo.

2. The individuals whose names follow, viz.—

Soult, Alix, Excelmans, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Baulay de la Meurth, Meheg, Fressinet, Thibaudeau, Carnot, Vandamme, Lamarque, Lobau, Harel, Peré, Barrere, Arnault, Pommereuil, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Arighi (Padua), Dejean (the son), Garnau, Real, Bouvier Dumoulard, Merlin of Douay, Durbach, Dirat, Defermont, Bory St. Vincent, Felix Desportès, Garnier de Saintes, Mellinet, Hullin, Cluys, Courtin, Forbin Janson (the eldest son), Lorgue Dideville, shall quit the city of Paris in three days, and shall retire into the interior of France, to places which our Minister of General Police shall point out, and where they shall remain under his superintendence, until the Chambers decide upon such among them as shall be sent out of the kingdom, or be delivered over for trial to the Tribunals.

Shall be immediately arrested such as shall not repair to the place assigned them by our Minister of General Police.

3. The individuals who shall be condemned to quit the kingdom, shall have the faculty to sell their goods and property in the delay of one year, to dispose of it, and to send the produce of the kingdom, and to receive during that time the revenues in foreign countries, furnishing, however, the proof of their obedience to the present ordonnance.

4. The lists of all the individuals to whom the 1st and 2d articles shall be applicable, are, and remain, closed by the nominal designations contained in these articles, and shall never be extended to others, for any causes and under any pretext whatever, other than in the form and according to the constitutional laws, which are expressly departed from for this case alone.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

By the King.

The Minister Secretary of State of General Police,

(Signed)

The Duke of OTRANTO.

254. The bloody Bourbons contented themselves with the absolute death of NEY, and another or two; but, as the reader will perceive, they kept the axe hanging over the head of every man that was really formidable to them. Some months passed before they actually put NEY to death; and when he found that they were seriously bent upon taking away his life, he made a representation of the injustice of so doing, which representation he addressed to the representatives of the Allied Sovereigns, and particularly to WELLINGTON, who was then in PARIS, as generalissimo of all the foreign troops in France, and who had signed the military convention or capitulation of PARIS. It will be seen, by-and-by, that the appeal to WELLINGTON was in vain, and WELLINGTON's government did, in fact, control all the rest of the Allies. With regard to the right of the King of France to put NEY to death for rebellion, he had no such right: NAPOLEON was the sovereign, *in fact*, at the time that NEY obeyed his

commands and fought by his side. Will any man say that WASHINGTON could have been legally executed as a rebel, if he had been taken prisoner by CLINTON, or CORNWALLIS, after the issuing of the declaration of independence? At a time when they had a prospect of ultimate victory before them, the English generals in America condemned an American captain of the name of HUDDY, and put him to death as a rebel. CORNWALLIS and his army were taken prisoners soon afterwards, and WASHINGTON made the captains of this army cast lots to see which of them should be put to death in retaliation for HUDDY. The lot fell upon Sir CHARLES ASGILL, who was condemned to die on a day somewhat distant, named for his execution, which was loudly called for by the American people. His life was finally spared at the intercession of the Queen of France, who was prevailed upon to make the application in consequence of the supplications of ASGILL's mother. But no one ever affected so much as to doubt of the right of the Americans to put ASGILL to death; and, of course, no one ever affected to doubt of the illegality of punishing Captain HUDDY as a rebel. HUDDY was obeying the sovereign in fact, and so was NEY; and, therefore, could not be considered as a rebel. Let us take what our own history presents to us in the events of the year 1688. The king, the lawful

sovereign of the kingdom, had fled out of the country. A foreigner, with a foreign army at his heels, landed in Devonshire; he was joined by many noblemen and gentlemen of the kingdom; he came to London, and there assemblies met, proclaimed him to be king, and obeyed him as king. Here the circumstances are precisely parallel. The RUSSELLS, the CAVENDISHES, and many others that could be named, joined the foreigner who had thus landed: no matter for their motives: they stood in their relationship to JAMES and to WILLIAM precisely in the same degrees that NEY stood in his relationship to LOUIS and NAPOLEON. I then put the question: *Were the RUSSELLS and the CAVENDISHES rebels?* A rebel is a man who raises his hand against the sovereign, *in fact*, of a country, and not he who happens to take the weaker side in a dispute for the sovereignty: this is law, consonant with reason and with natural justice. To contend for the principle on which NEY was deemed a rebel, would be to contend for the right of the victor, in such a case, to slaughter half a nation. It was said by our parliament and government, and by LOUIS himself, that *one half* of the French people were for LOUIS: of course, the other half were for NAPOLEON; and, of course, one half of the French people were rebels, if NEY were a rebel; and this old porpoise of a Bourbon had just as much right to slaughter one half of the

French people as he had to kill NEY ; and this is more, I think, than would be contended for by the bloodiest Bourbon or boroughmonger that ever existed.

255. But, besides this security for his life against the vindictive fangs of the cowardly Bourbon ; besides this guarantee afforded by reason, by law, and by natural justice, his life was further secured by the military convention, or capitulation, of PARIS, before mentioned. NEY formed one of the army which was besieged in PARIS by WELLINGTON, BLUCHER, and others. WELLINGTON, as commander-in-chief of the allied armies, summoned PARIS to surrender. It did surrender upon convention or capitulation, call it which you will. According to that capitulation, NEY's life was perfectly safe, notwithstanding anything that he might have done for NAPOLEON, or against LOUIS ; for, the twelfth article of that capitulation was in these words : " Shall be " equally respected, persons and private property ; " the inhabitants, and in general *all the individuals who are in the capital*, shall continue to " enjoy their rights and liberty, without being " disturbed or sought after for anything relating " to the functions they occupy, or shall have occupied, *their conduct and their political opinions.*"

256. Nothing can be more full or satisfactory than this. Marshal NEY was in PARIS, and, of

course, he came within the meaning of this capitulation. Not only according to the *letter* of the capitulation, but according to its spirit also ; for, is it not evident, that it was precisely for persons in his situation that the article was intended ? No person was to be called to account for *past conduct* or *political opinions*. This could not be intended for the shopkeepers, nor for the lawyers and doctors ; it was not the *functions* of venders of clothes, or of victuals and drink, that this capitulation had in view ; it clearly had in view, men who had been serving NAPOLEON in his armies, or exercising some high authority under him after his return from ELBA. NEY, therefore, finding the dastardly Bourbon crew bent upon his blood, appealed from them to the Allies in the person of that very WELLINGTON who had signed the capitulation ; and now let us hear the answer which he received to this appeal ; and let us make a just estimate of it, as the rest of the world will do ; for, relish it how we may, it belongs to us, and will stick to us for ages yet to come. It is of more importance than a thousand dispatches relating to marches and counter-marches ; or relating even to victories or defeats : it is a thing which, if it be not taken as a mark of the character of the English nation, will, at the least, stand on record as a mark of the character of the government of GEORGE the Fourth ; and here it is, for the purpose of

being remembered by the people of England, as long as any effort of mine can cause it to live in their minds, or in those of their posterity :

DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S ANSWER TO
MARSHAL NEY.

Paris, Nov. 15, 1815.

MONSIEUR LE MARÉCHAL,—I have had the honour of receiving the note which you addressed to me on the 13th instant, relative to the operation of the capitulation in Paris in your case. The capitulation of Paris, of the 3rd of July last, was made between the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Prussian armies on the one part, and the Prince d'Eckmuhl, Commander-in-Chief of the French army, on the other, and related *exclusively* to the military occupation of Paris. The object of the twelfth article was to prevent any measures of severity under the military authority OF THOSE WHO MADE IT towards any persons in Paris, on account of any offices they had filled, or any conduct or political opinion of theirs; but it *never was intended, and never could be intended*, to prevent either the *existing French Government*, under whose authority the French Commander-in-Chief must have acted, or any French Government which might succeed it, from acting, in this respect, as it might deem fit.

I have the honour to be,

Monsieur le Maréchal,

Your most obedient humble servant.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

257. What ! Had the man who signed this forgotten, that Louis was *one of the Allies*, and that when this man signed the capitulation, he signed by authority of Louis as completely as he

did by the authority of the King of England and the rest of the Allies? Had he forgotten *this*? What! was the capitulation to bind *those only* who actually *signed it*; and, did it leave the Allies at liberty to appoint *other commanders* to slaughter the people of Paris and the soldiers therein? What was the capitulation made *for*? It was, on the part of the besieged, to obtain security from after injury, as the price of their non-resistance and surrender; and, on the part of the besiegers, it was to obtain possession of the city without risk, without bloodshed, and without loss, cost, or injury of any sort; and this, as the price of their promises of security to all who were within the city, and more especially of security to all those who had held offices under Napoleon, or who were known to hold political opinions, and to have conducted themselves in a manner, hostile towards the Allies, of which Allies LOUIS was one. Not only, therefore, did the capitulation include MARSHAL NEY; but, the evident principal object of the 12th Article was to provide for the security of persons precisely in his situation. So that, if the world ever saw a breach of faith more flagrant than all other breaches of faith put together, this was that breach.

258. If the principle upon which Ney was executed were once to cease to be held in abhorrence, there can be no capitulation, no convention, no

treaty, which can be made by men, that any one can say ought to be held sacred. If Louis could, by his mere will, annul the capitulation of Paris, as far as related to Ney, so he could as far as related to others included in that capitulation, as, indeed, he did, with regard to Soult, and many other persons of ten thousand times the virtue and the merit of Soult, as will be seen by his infamous ordinance in paragraph 253 of this book ; but this justification of the breach of the convention with regard to Ney, would have authorised his cutting the throats of all the people in Paris, at the time the convention was made. That convention stipulates for the security " of all the inhabitants who are in the capital." As if this were not enough, he further stipulates for the security, rights, and liberty, of every man in the situation in which Ney then was. Therefore, if Wellington's doctrine were sound ; if the capitulation were not to extend to those who had committed offences against Louis ; then the throats of all the people in Paris were left subjected to the knife of this Bourbon ; and the capitulation was nothing more than the means of subjecting them to that knife.

259. But, there was another shuffle put forth in order to plaster over this never-to-be-forgotten deed. This shuffle was, that Wellington, and his masters the Allies, had no *right* to bind Louis in this respect ; but, as Ney himself said,

they came in *his name* to make the capitulation : that he was *one of the Allies* ; and, if the reader look back to the Declaration of Vienna, which he will find signed by Talleyrand on behalf of Louis, and which declaration he will find in paragraph 224, he will find that Louis was one of the Allies, and that Wellington was the representative of Louis, as much as he was the representative of his right worthy master George the Fourth. So that Louis himself stipulated, by his representative, to spare the life of Ney ; and, for the Allies to pretend that they had no right to prevent him from violating that convention, amounted to a declaration that they had no right to prevent him, if he had chosen to do it, from burning Paris, and all the women and children in Paris, as the magnanimous Alexander had done at Moscow.

260. This shuffle was, however, too flimsy to be relied upon without something subsidiary ; and, therefore, want of *physical power* was resorted to. Louis, they said, was again in possession of his kingly powers ; had all his functionaries and army at his absolute command, and that the Allies, even if they would have prevented it, had not the power of preventing him from putting Ney to death. What ! not the *power* ; when they had five hundred thousand bayonets in France, and three hundred thousand more hovering on the frontiers of France ; when they

had military occupation of his whole kingdom, and of every fortress therein; when they had absolute and uncontrolled possession of his capital, in which he himself was, and when their own foreign sentinels guarded him in the thing called his palace; when they had the power to make him give up by treaty part of the dominions of France, which had belonged to her for a hundred years; when they had the power to make him consent to a treaty imposing a tribute upon his kingdom, and subjecting it to their guardianship and government for five years to a certainty, and, contingently, for any length of time; when they had the power to strip the museums of his capital in the manner that we shall see hereafter, without obtaining his consent, or the consent of any one having authority under him! What! when they had the power to do all these things with him; and when he was, in short, no more than a bit of wax in their hands, they wanted the power to make him suffer their own capitulation to be fulfilled, when the fulfilment of it required that his Bourbon fangs should be kept from tearing out the bowels of Ney!

261. There is nothing recorded in history that furnishes anything like a parallel to this transaction, except the breach of the Capitulation of Naples by Nelson and the Bourbon King of Naples; when, amongst hundreds of others, the Prince, FRANCESCO CARACCIOLI, was the most

conspicuous victim of English breach of faith and of Bourbon ferocity. This horrible transaction does, indeed, belong to the history of the worthy father of this King George the Fourth; and it must find a place, with all its sanguinary circumstances, in that history. That affair was more bloody than this; but, in its nature it was very nearly the same. A capitulation was made by Cardinal Ruffo on the part of the Bourbon, and by CAPTAIN FOOTE on the part of the king of England; it was broken by the Bourbon, and the breach was sanctioned by Nelson, whose name ought never to be mentioned unaccompanied with the mention of the name and the bloody end of FRANCESCO CARACCIOLI. It is curious to observe how deeds like this are overlooked, or varnished over, and how soon they are forgotten by the public, when the persons who have committed them have been *fortunate in war*. This deed of NELSON (which this nation ought never to rest till it has atoned for in some way or other) would seem to be wholly forgotten by the English people. During the last session of parliament, a petition, complaining that Sir THOMAS TROWBRIDGE had obtained his rank of Lieutenant in the navy by means of a *false certificate* of his age, was rejected, was *refused to be received* by the House of Commons; and, amongst the arguments made use of against the reception of it were these two; namely, first, that LORD NELSON *had obtained*

his rank in the same manner; and, second, that the father of Sir Thomas Trowbridge had been *the right-hand man of Lord Nelson*! Such, indeed, he appears to have been in the affair just described; but, how that fact could be a ground for *rejecting the petition* above mentioned, it still remains for those who were convinced by that argument to explain to the world.

262. But, how did the English nation receive the intelligence of this transaction with regard to Ney? The English nation had been too drunk, just at that time; had been too busy in preparing oxen and sheep to roast; was too busy still in shouting and bragging, and in making Wellington-boots, to have time to think about the right or the wrong of this transaction; but, with regard to the aristocracy, the clergy, the fundholders, if there were any of them who disapproved of the conduct of Wellington, not a man of them ever expressed that disapprobation; and it may be fairly said, that it had the approbation of them all; while it is certain that it must have had the approbation of the government. Time, however, that great enemy to every thing that will not bear the test of cool examination, has put this matter in its true light at last. It has not, indeed, taken from Wellington his titles of Viscount, Earl, Marquis, and Duke; it has not taken from him any part of more than the million of money which this toiling nation has been legally constrained to give him; it has not done any of

those things ; but it has (in 1833) rendered it expedient for him to have bullet-proof window-shutters to his house in London ; it has caused his name to be effaced from the corners of the streets on which it was placed at the time of the death of Ney ; and it has caused his picture to be knocked down from the sign-posts and, in some cases, burned in the streets ; and accounts of these things he has had an opportunity of reading in those very newspapers which applauded him to the skies at the time when that memorable transaction took place which I am now putting upon record. The widow and the son of Ney cannot bring back the husband and the father to life ; but they can read of these things, as well as the rest of the world ; they have seen him Prime Minister of England, since the death of Marshal Ney ; and they have seen the King of England set aside his royal and positive engagement to dine, upon coming to his throne, with his subjects, the corporation of his city of London, because he could not fulfil that engagement without danger to the lives of his people, danger to be apprehended from the necessary presence of his Prime Minister upon the occasion : this widow and son cannot bring back the husband and father to life ; but, with the rest of the world, they can hear Sir ROBERT PEEL exclaim, " WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE DUKE ? " an expression uttered

upon this occasion by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and stated to the public under the hand of Sir JOHN KEY, the then Lord Mayor of London.

263. Before dismissing this subject, and coming to the second of the instances of those transactions, mentioned in paragraph 251, as characteristic of the government of England during the regency and reign of George the Fourth, it is proper to remark on the nature of the doctrine of Wellington and of the proceedings of Louis in the case of Ney, if applied to the present state of things in France. What is Louis-Philippe? Is he sovereign *of right*, or is he merely sovereign *in fact*? Is there *a law* that has made him king? If a law, who made the law? Why, the legislative assemblies of France, sanctioned, as they say, by the voice of the people. And, was not Buonaparte made sovereign by a law, after his return from Elba? Did not the legislative assemblies enact that he was Emperor of France? Did not they and he together make a new charter; and were not the people of France living under that charter and obeying the laws of Napoleon and of his assemblies until after the battle of Waterloo? How, then, could Ney be a rebel, unless Soult, and all the rest of the turn-coat crew, who are now serving under Louis-Philippe, are also rebels; and unless Charles the Tenth, or his lineal successor, would, upon

coming back to the throne, brought thither by armies of Austrians, Russians, Prussians, English, Swiss, Hanoverians, Dutchmen, and all sorts of devils; unless Charles or his successor, thus brought back, would have a right to put Soult, Guizot, and all the band of turn-coats, of all descriptions, and a great part of the people of France, to an ignominious death as rebels? So that, in every possible way in which this matter can be viewed, there was not the slightest plea of justice or of law for putting Ney to death. But, bad as the Bourbons were, mean, base, and everything bad as they were in this act, the act was not, in fact, theirs. The act was the act of the whole of the Allies sanctioning the instrumentality of Wellington. Thus let it stand recorded, and let it remain in men's memory to be hereafter engraven on the suitable monuments which shall be raised, to perpetuate the *glories* of the reigns of George the Third and Fourth.

264. I now come to the other remarkable transaction which immediately followed this second fall of Napoleon; namely, the pillaging of the museums and picture-galleries of Paris. It will be borne in mind that, after the peace of 1814, deep lamentations were expressed in England, that the museums and galleries had been left untouched at Paris. The reader will please to turn to paragraph 218, and paragraph 246. He will there find stated the motives to the transaction

which I am now about to record. The moment the peace of 1814 had been concluded, it was perceived, that France, if left as she then was, would soon be the receptacle of the greater part of the rich idlers of England. Amongst the objects of attraction with these idlers, were the picture-galleries and museums, containing the famous pictures and other monuments of art, brought from the countries which the French Republicans had conquered by their valour, and which they had as much right to bring to Paris as they had to bring the flags and standards which they captured in battle. Nevertheless, a great part of the boroughmonger discontent at the settlement of things in 1814, arose from the circumstance of Paris having thus become the centre of the fine arts; and they expressed their discontent in growls and grumbles, and sometimes in open invective. When, therefore, they had got into possession of Paris again, they openly demanded that this cause of their uneasiness should be removed most effectually. And, as was observed in a former paragraph, Mr. BANKES, then Member for Corfe-Castle, and more recently Member for Dorsetshire, and the principal trustee for the British Museum, expressed his hope, in his place in parliament, "that the
" Museum would not be suffered to remain with
" their present contents in the twice-conquered
" city of Paris."

265. It seemed difficult, indeed, to find out a pretence for stripping these museums; for, in the first place, the Declaration of Vienna bound all the Allies to give effect to the Treaty of 1814, to cause it to be fulfilled in all respects, and not to do anything more than should be found necessary to cause it to be fulfilled in every particular. That Treaty had said not a word about museums; had left the museums the property of the king and the kingdom of France; but, now, having conquered France again, it was found to be right to strip these museums, in defiance of the principles clearly laid down in the Declaration of Vienna, and, on which Declaration it was, that the people of France were called upon to take part with the Allies. Besides, could the *King of France* wish his own museums to be stripped? And was not he *one of the Allies*? Was not he *one of the conquerors* of his own kingdom and people? In spite, however, of declarations, in spite of the most solemn pledges to do nothing to injure the French nation, the museums were stripped, and the project of such stripping was first announced in a diplomatic note of Lord Castlereagh, addressed to the Ambassadors of the Allies, dated on the 11th of September, 1815.

Upon what principle can France, at the close of such a war, expect to sit down with the same extent of possessions which she held before the Revolution, and desire, at the same time,

to retain the ornamental spoils of all other countries? It is, that there can exist a doubt of the issue of the contest or of the power of the Allies to effectuate what justice and policy require? if not, upon what principle deprive France of her late territorial acquisitions, and preserve to her the spoiliations appertaining to those territories, which all modern conquerors have invariably respected, as inseparable from the country to which they belonged?

The Allied Sovereigns have perhaps something to atone for to Europe, in consequence of the course pursued by them, when at Paris, during the last year. It is true, they never did so far make themselves parties in the criminality of this mass of plunder, as to sanction it by any stipulation in their Treaties; such a recognition has been on their part uniformly refused; but they certainly did use their influence to repress at that moment any agitation of their claims, in the hope that France, not less subdued by their generosity than by their arms, might be disposed to preserve inviolate a peace which had been studiously framed to serve as a bond of reconciliation between the Nation and the King. They had also reason to expect that his Majesty would be advised voluntarily to restore a considerable proportion at least of these spoils to their lawful owners.

But the question is a very different one now, and to pursue the same course under circumstances so essentially altered, would be, in the judgment of the Prince Regent, equally unwise towards France, and unjust towards our Allies, who have a direct interest in this question.

His Royal Highness, in stating this opinion, feels it necessary to guard against the possibility of misrepresentation.

Whilst he deems it to be the duty of the Allied Sovereigns not only not to obstruct, but to facilitate, upon the present occasion, the return of these objects to the places from whence they were torn, it seems not less consistent with their delicacy, not to suffer the position of their armies in France, or the removal of these works from the Louvre, to become the means, either directly or indirectly, of bringing within their own dominions a single article which did not of right, at the

period of their conquest, belong either to their respective family collections, or to the countries over which they now actually reigned.

Whatever value the Prince Regent might attach to such exquisite specimens of the fine arts, if otherwise acquired, he has no wish to become possessed of them at the expense of France, or rather of the countries to which they of right belong, more especially by following up a principle in war which He considers as a reproach to the nation by which it has been adopted, and so far from wishing to take advantage of the occasion to purchase from the rightful owners any article they might, from pecuniary considerations, be disposed to part with, His Royal Highness would on the contrary be disposed rather to afford the means of replacing them in those very temples and galleries of which they were so long the ornaments,

Were it possible that His Royal Highness's sentiments towards the person and cause of Louis XVIII. could be brought into doubt, or that the position of His Most Christian Majesty was likely to be injured in the eyes of His own people, the Prince Regent would not come to this conclusion without the most painful reluctance; but, on the contrary, His Royal Highness believes that His Majesty will rise in love and respect of his own subjects, in proportion as He separates Himself from these remembrances of revolutionary warfare. These spoils, which impede a moral reconciliation between France and the countries she has invaded, are not necessary to record the exploits of her armies, which, notwithstanding the cause in which they were achieved, must ever make the arms of the nation respected abroad. But whilst these objects remain at Paris, constituting as it were the title-deeds of the countries which have been given up, the sentiments of reuniting these countries again to France will never be altogether extinct; nor will the genius of the French people ever completely associate itself with the more limited existence assigned to the nation under the Bourbons.

266. After this, the stripping began, and we have some account of it in the following dispatch

from Wellington to Castlereagh. Let it be observed, that Castlereagh was at Paris, when he wrote his note of the eleventh of September, and that this dispatch of Wellington was dated from Paris on the twenty-third of September, giving an account of the issue of the affair.

MY DEAR LORD,

There has been a good deal of discussion here lately respecting the measures which I have been under the necessity of adopting, in order to get for the King of the Netherlands his Pictures, &c., from the Museums; and lest these reports should reach the Prince Regent, I wish to trouble you, for His Royal Highness's information, with the following statement of what has passed:—

Shortly after the arrival of the Sovereigns at Paris, the Minister of the King of the Netherlands claimed the Pictures, &c., belonging to his Sovereign, equally with those of other powers; and, as far as I could learn, never could get any satisfactory reply from the French Government. After several conversations with me, he addressed your Lordship an official Note, which was laid before the Ministers of the Allied Sovereigns, assembled in conference; and the subject was taken into consideration repeatedly, with a view to discover a mode of doing justice to the claimants of the specimens of the arts in the Museums, without injuring the feelings of the King of France. In the meantime the Prussians had obtained from His Majesty not only all the really Prussian Pictures, but those belonging to the Prussian territories on the left of the Rhine, and the Pictures, &c., belonging to all the Allies of His Prussian Majesty; and the subject pressed for an early decision; and your Lordship wrote your note of the 11th instant, in which it was fully discussed.

The Ministers of the King of the Netherlands, still having no satisfactory answer from the French Government, appealed to me as the General-in-Chief of the army of the King of the Netherlands, to know whether I had any objection to employ His Majesty's troops to obtain possession of what was his un-

doubted property. I referred this application again to the Ministers of the Allied Courts, and no objection having been stated, I considered it my duty to take the necessary measures to obtain what was his right.

267. Thus, at last, it came to the employing of British bayonets, in order to carry into execution the wish of Mr. Bankes, and of the parliament who had so loudly cheered the expression of that wish ; and thus was clearly proved that this was one of the objects in the bringing back of Buonaparte. Now, then, was put to the test the sincerity of the parliament, when it shouted on to war against Napoleon after his return ; and when the two Houses echoed and re-echoed with the most solemn protestations not to desire anything that should be injurious or humiliating to the kingdom of France. We see here that the consent of the miserable Bourbon was never declared in favour of this stripping. We see that it took place in spite of him ; and yet, he was *one* of the Allies who had "*conquered*" France. This act of baseness he appears to have been afraid to commit, and, therefore, it was committed openly without even his apparent assent. The logic of Castlereagh is of a piece with the rest of the transaction. It was not, he says, to be expected that the Allies, who had found it necessary to take from France a part of her own long-possessed dominions, should leave her in quiet possession of the spoils that she had taken in war. Why,

to be sure, it was not to be "*expected*," that those who had been guilty of one most flagrant breach of faith should very scrupulously abstain from committing another. In this respect, this stripping of the museums was natural enough ; but, upon any other principle, how the taking away of the dominions of France by the hands of her Allies was to be a reason for the stripping her of her museums, even by those Allies, is not very easy to discover.

268. These pictures and other things are called *plunder* ; but, they were no more plunder than the flags taken from the enemy in battle. They were taken from countries that had been conquered, and some of them even incorporated into the empire of France. Napoleon was actually sovereign of those countries at the very time when he took away these monuments of art and carried them to Paris. If they came from countries of which he had not actually assumed and exercised the sovereignty, they were, at the very least, *booty* of war ; and there was no more pretence for taking them away than there would have been for the taking away of cannon, horses, carriages, or any other thing taken in war and brought to France.

269. If, indeed, the Allies took away these pictures and statues in their quality of *conquerors of France*, then their right was clear ; and it was in that character, and that character

only, that they could lawfully take them away ; but, then came the awkward circumstance that the King of France, the owner of the museums, *was one of the conquerors* ; and they had stipulated, according to their Declaration at Vienna, to restore him to all his rights and possessions, and had never hinted at the thought of making those possessions an object of their plunder.

270. It is quite clear that they never had his consent in a regular formal manner, in any case, and that they had his refusal, with regard to the pictures which came from the Netherlands. Base as this Bourbon was, like all the other Bourbons ; base as he was, he was not quite base enough to give his consent to the stripping of the museums. He had not, indeed, the power to prevent the stripping, if he had the will : his assent was obtained formally to the stripping of his kingdom of its frontier-towns, and to the imposing of a tribute upon his people, the interest of which tribute they have yet to pay, and which, to all appearance, will be paid by their children who are now in their cradle ; but, he gave no assent to the stripping of these museums ; he was afraid to do that, though he had not been afraid to impose an everlasting load of taxes on the same people who submitted quietly to the tribute, though they swore, cried, and tore their hair, at the taking away of pictures and statues.

271. Every man of sincerity must be shocked

at the sentiments of *impartiality and disinterestedness*, expressed by Castlereagh on the part of his sincere master, George the Fourth. He, the magnanimous and magnificent George the Fourth, did not want to have any of the pictures and statues for himself! He only wanted his brother sovereigns to have their own again, and wanted to relieve France of the existence of things calculated to keep alive that vain-glorious and restless spirit of aggression which it was now so desirable to extinguish for ever; and that, therefore, it was from the King of England's anxious desire to promote *the happiness of France* as well as to satisfy the natural wishes of the Allied Sovereigns, that he approved of this stripping of the museums of Paris! It may be truly said, that this Lord Castlereagh was a servant quite worthy of the master that employed him; and, as we shall see in the sequel, the *end* of the former was such as to make every one call to his recollection this memorable transaction of stripping the museums of Paris.

272. Nor has the effect of this transaction been unfelt by the English nation. In spite of all these professions of impartiality and disinterestedness, and without pretending to account for the cause of so curious an effect; and knowing that there were none of those pictures or statues that had been taken from England; it is notorious that, in some way or other, a very large

part of them very soon found their way to England; and, if they had been here knocked to pieces or burned, the consequence would have been small. The evil would have been of little amount. The nation would have had no cause of repentance on this account; but, at this very moment (1833), the parliament has been called upon to vote seventy-five thousand pounds, sterling, for the building of a gallery wherein to put pictures and statues, which have now become so great in quantity as to require such a building to hold them. Here is a sum of money, to be taken out of the labour of the people, sufficient to maintain four thousand families of labourers for one year, and the interest of which would maintain one hundred and seventy-five labourers' families for ever.

273. Viewed as an object of worth to a nation, the museums were worse than useless to France. It has always been seen, amongst nations as amongst individuals, that a proneness towards things of show; that a general taste for what are called the fine arts, tends to the degradation and slavery of a people. The countries of painters and of poets have not been the countries of freedom; and it is very natural that they should not. A people will always be proud of something: one of military renown; another of naval renown; another of commercial greatness; another of excellence in the *fine arts*, as

they are called, until every third man wishes to be a painter, a poet, or a musician; another will be proud of its good laws, its liberties, its good living. Now, unhappy is it for a nation, when it happens to make a choice of a thing to be proud of, which thing has tendency neither to strengthen it against its foreign enemies, nor to make the people easy and happy at home. All the efforts which can be made will never make Englishmen painters and poets and musicians: bodies filled with beef and beer are not to carry throats and eyes and ears for singing and painting; lentils for dinner, a lettuce for supper, raw green peas and beans for a dessert, and vermicelli, snails, frogs, and polenta, for days of feasting; these produce soft pipes, sharp eyes, and delicate ears, laziness, filth, and cunning too profound for Satan himself. All that can be done, in England, by squanderings upon galleries and museums, is to excite a desire in the vain and frivolous part of the nation to hanker after such things. Men will desire to excel in something, and a wise ruler of the people will always endeavour so to manage things that it may be the general taste of the people to desire to excel in those things which conduce to the permanent power and greatness; to the public-spirit, to the morality, to the ease and happiness of the nation. The loss of the museums to France was a thing which France ought not to have regretted;

but she is entitled to entertain lasting resentment against those who stripped them, and against England in particular; for, without her consent and approbation, it is well known that they could not have been stripped.

274. Having now described the treatment which France experienced in consequence of Napoleon having been brought back, or having come back, from ELBA; having fully shown the motives that were at work to produce these consequences; having exhibited the Bourbon, "*le désiré*" guarded, in PARIS, by foreign bayonets, against his own "*loving subjects*," round whose devoted necks he had been made to hang the mill-stone of a DEBT, under which for them and their children's children to toil like slaves to all generations; having thus placed the fruits of the battle of Waterloo before the reader, as far as those fruits related to France, I should now go to the AMERICAN WAR, which was, as we have seen, brought to a close so suddenly and unaccountably, just before the return of Napoleon; but, before I enter upon that important event, the most important, as to its consequences, of this king's regency and reign, it is necessary to take a look at the effects produced in England, by the events recorded in the foregoing part of this present chapter.

275. The first and natural effects were shouts, and other marks of triumph, apparently universal.

There was a large part of the nation who were very far from rejoicing on this occasion, and amongst these was the writer of this history, who was also the writer of a weekly publication called the "*Political Register*." The rejoicings began the year before, when NAPOLEON was banished to ELBA; and these, indeed, were the grand rejoicings. The King of PRUSSIA and the Emperor of RUSSIA, together with several of the petty despots of Europe, with long trains of whiskered and sabred followers, came for the double purpose of helping the boroughmongers to rejoice, and to scowl at the friends of the advocates of parliamentary reform. By the swarms who upheld corruption and fed upon the taxes, they were received as demigods; cringed to, and almost literally worshipped by, crowds of base men and women, who felt that the food within them had not been earned, and had proceeded from the sweat of an ill-fed and ill-clad people. These swarms had, for many years, and a great part of them from their infancy, lived in fear of the result of the contest; in fear that the example of France would produce such a change of things in England as would compel them to work for their bread, instead of being able to compel others to work for that bread. Unable to reason upon the subject to any extent, and to look into a detail of causes; with heads stuffed with newspaper intelligence

and lucubrations, that had arrived at the simple idea, that *NAPOLKON was the sole cause of all their danger*; that in him they saw embodied that which, if not destroyed, would take from them the bread of idleness, strip them of their unmerited fine clothes, and compel them to live a life of labour and of frugality. Therefore, when they saw him what they deemed destroyed, their feelings were those of boundless joy and exultation; such as we may suppose would be felt by an assemblage of undetected thieves, burglars, and murderers, upon receiving sure and certain information of the annihilation of the devil.

276. Those of them who lived in the great and all-corrupting metropolis; those immense swarms of Jews and Jew-like professors of Christianity; all the tribes of fundholders and of usurers of every description; all the makers and issuers and negotiators of paper-money; all the tribes of creatures living in, or creeping about, the innumerable public offices; all their immediate dependents, not only servants, but tradesmen: all these, amounting to hundreds of thousands, set up one general unanimous shout of joy. That universal shout over, they then began visiting and revisiting each other; balls, plays, masquerades, illuminations, processions, from the solemn and gaudy buffoonery of the freemasons down to the

little ragged children at the Lancasterian schools. The houses in the streets were decorated with transparencies and paintings, as in the case of a jubilee at ROME.

277. Those living in the country hastened, where they had the means, up to the grand scene of exultation, crowding after the delivering demi-gods, striving, as it were, for life, to obtain the means of being able to say that they had "*touched*" some part of the garments of the Autocrat of RUSSIA, of the King of PRUSSIA, or of a Prussian general of the name of BLUCHER, who, though old and having his mouth well guarded with whiskers, was said to express his fear lest his lips should be carried away by the kisses of the "*ladies of England!*" The cities and towns in the country imitated London to the utmost of their power. Oxen were roasted whole; and it was a miserable town that did not roast whole one or more sheep. These animals were led to the slaughter in the true heathen style; decorated with orange ribands in sign of the triumph of the Dutch; white ribands in sign of the triumph of the Bourbons; and the whole always surmounted by the triumphal British flag, while the tri-coloured flag reversed, was placed under it. Upwards of two hundred oxen were roasted whole, and upwards of two thousand sheep. One boundless scene of extrava-

gance and waste, and idleness and dissipation pervaded the whole kingdom, the people appeared to be all raving drunk, all raving mad.

278. Lord CASTLEREAGH, who had been the negotiator of the Treaty of PARIS, was received in the House of Commons *by the Members all rising up, and by the clapping of hands*; and, as to WELLINGTON, the subject of lamentation appeared to be, that there was no earth good enough for him to walk upon, and that the treasures of the nation were all too small, and its honours too diminutive, to leave a hope in the mind of any man that a sufficient reward would be found for him; and, indeed, in his own pedigree in the peerage, it is plainly stated that the nation "*had not the power to reward him sufficiently*;" though he has the generosity to confess, *that it did its best*; and what that best was, we shall see further on in this history.

279. Let me do justice to the people of England, however. They were not all either drunk or mad; but those that were not were compelled to be silent for the time. The sober part of the nation, and particularly the parliamentary reformers, and especially those amongst them who were capable of estimating the ultimate effect of the means which had been resorted to, to obtain this triumph, witnessed these scenes of cowardly and insolent exultation with feelings of disgust, contempt, and, sometimes, indignation; but by

no means with feelings of dismay. They saw that the triumph would be but of short duration; and they thought, and they said, that the means which had been made use of to obtain this triumph, which was, in fact a triumph over parliamentary reform, and not over anything else; they saw that the means which had been made use of to obtain this triumph; they saw, and they said, that the debt which had been contracted for the purpose of purchasing the triumph (for purchased it was with English money), would finally produce that parliamentary reform which the purchase was intended to prevent, and which the insolent rejoicers thought the triumph had prevented for ever.

280. The government was resolved to make the most of the drunkenness and madness excited by this event. Men are always prone to believe that that *is* which they wish to be; and, therefore, the government might really believe that all contest with the parliamentary reformers was now at an end; that no man in future would dare to raise his voice in favour of any change in the mode of electing members of parliament; and that seat-selling in the legislature, and pluralities and non-residence in the church, were now in perfect safety, and to be of duration equal to that of the hills. This might be the view which the government took of the matter; and, indeed, the language in the two houses of par-

liament seemed to warrant the opinion, that this was the view which it did take of the matter; for, no man dared open his lips in either house upon the subject of reform, while everlasting taunts were poured out upon reformers, who were now spoken of as a race become obsolete.

281. At any rate, the government did its best to make the most of the delusion. It had feasts and shows of all sorts to entertain the continental kings and their endless tribes of followers. It had a grand naval show at PORTSMOUTH, drawing together the whole country round about, and covering the sea with shows of the most expensive description, the Prince Regent going in person with all the parade capable of being furnished by his extravagant government. From port to port the roar of cannon was continually telling the world that England was mad. No expense was ever talked of; the people imitated the government, seeming to vie with each other who should waste most and who should give clearest symptoms of madness. The thousands of mail and other stage coaches, their horses covered with ribands and ensigns, communicated the insanity to the utmost corners of the island; and, lest all this should not be enough, the government itself *expended three hundred thousand pounds* of the public money in fire-works, Chinese temples and bridges, triumphal arches, and all sorts of means to draw idlers to London, and

to give an impression to the public mind, which it thought would never be effaced. But there was one item in these scenes which deserves particular notice. There is a piece of water in a park called HYDE-park, which lies close on the west of the west-end of the metropolis, which piece of water (called the Serpentine River) is capable of carrying boats of considerable dimensions. On this piece of water, at an enormous expense, a naval fight was contrived to add to, and to confirm, the delusion of the people. The war was now over with France; and, therefore, the enemy to be defeated, subdued, and degraded, was, the United States of America. To attempt to describe the combat would be useless; equally useless almost to speak of the result: it was fierce and long; as long at least as was necessary to amuse and delude the gazing crowd, consisting, it was almost officially said, of half a million of persons, amidst whose unanimous acclamations, loud enough to shock the heavens themselves, and wicked enough to delight the infernal regions, the American vessels were finally compelled to surrender to superior valour and skill, and were gently towed off in triumph, their flags reversed, hanging half-mast high, while that of England flowed from the tiptop mast over their heads! And now let it be remembered that, as we shall see in the next chapter, *at this very moment* the American ships were beating and

capturing the English, man for man and gun for gun, on every part of the ocean and on the lakes!

282. That which has been described above relates to the rejoicings of 1814, which took place in the dog-days of that year. Great efforts were made by the government, and by the boroughmongers and parsons, to revive the rejoicings in 1815, after the battle of WATERLOO. Infinite pains were taken by the corrupt press to produce a new roasting of oxen and of sheep, and to cause a repetition of the balls and plays and shows of the year before; but all these efforts were vain: the nation had had *a taste of peace*; a sober fit had followed the drunken fit, sanity had succeeded raving madness; and the industrious part of the nation had discovered, or at the least they began to suspect, that they had purchased victories at too dear a rate; that they had carried on war for two-and-twenty years, in order to load themselves with everlasting debt and taxation. It is impossible to describe the cool indifference with which the main body of the people received the news of the glorious victory of WATERLOO. A year of peace had taught them the worthlessness of victories; and, short as the period had been, they discovered that some change or other must take place in the mode of carrying on the government; or that, after all, there must be a sort of *revolution in England*, notwithstanding all that was presented

to them in the terrific example of France, including even the tribute and the stripping of the museums.

283. The causes of this altered tone in the people were several ; but generally there was an impression upon their minds that the victories were a sort of cheatery, by which taxes were to be wrung from them for ever. Meetings, county meetings and town meetings, had begun to be held for the purpose of petitioning the parliament to repeal the property tax. The government had pleaded the continuance of the war with America, if not with France. That pretence was now removed ; and the nation had resented even the use of that pretence.

284. The innumerable swarms of those who lived on the taxes began now to see, that the existence of NAPOLEON was less dangerous to them than his extinguishment. As long as the nation could be terrified by the sound of his name, nobody ventured to cry out very loudly against taxes ; but, when he was destroyed, to repeal taxes became the general cry. The government was compelled to begin to narrow its expenses. From full-pay officers came to half-pay : whole troops of commissaries and army and navy retainers, and whole troops of barrack-masters and other devourers of the fruit of the people's labour, were either discharged or greatly reduced in their pay. Troops of servants turned

off in consequence, and a general tone of complaint amongst a great part of those who had been loudest in their exultations at the fall of NAPOLEON.

285. But there was at work another cause, more efficient than all the rest put together, though not perceived by superficial observers; namely, a *great diminution in the quantity of the circulating medium, or money, of the country*. People wondered what was the matter with the country: the old maxim, or saying, of "*Peace and Plenty*" seemed to be a falsehood in this case; for peace had brought with it general want and distress. It seems strange; but instead of that "indemnity for the past and security for the future," which PITT had promised as the result of a glorious peace, the nation found the peace productive of more distress than the war had been; and in the future, no man saw any prospects of security for what he had left: be his property of whatsoever nature it might, he found it daily diminish in amount of nominal value, while all contracts seemed to have ceased to be binding.

286. These effects were produced by that diminution in the quantity of the circulating medium, which diminution was produced by the peace. A place will present itself hereafter to enter into a history of the currency or circulating medium of the country, and of the terrible evils

inflicted upon the nation by the legislative measures respecting it; but it is necessary here to say some little matter upon the subject, in order to account for the state of lassitude into which the nation now at once fell, sinking down all at once under a load of laurels and a load of distress.

287. Every one knows, who reflects at all upon the matter, that, in whatever degree the circulating money be diminished in quantity, it must necessarily be raised in its quality; that is to say, that it must be worth more than it was before; that is to say, that a smaller sum of it will purchase a bushel of wheat, for instance, than would be required to purchase a bushel of wheat if the quantity in circulation were larger. Hence every one must see, that, to diminish the quantity of money is to lower prices, to augment the real amount of all debts, and all debtor-engagements for time, to raise rents in effect, to augment the real amount of mortgages and of interest on mortgages; and that, as the debtor-part of the community must always consist principally of those engaged in active industry, a great sudden reduction in the quantity of the circulating medium of a country must produce great and general distress amongst all the industrious classes; and that, one of the features of this distress must be, a diminution in the quantity of employment to be given to the working part of the people.

288. This was the main cause that was at work in England at the time of which we are speaking; the main cause that was at work to produce that lassitude, that disgust, that despair, indeed, which had succeeded the drunken and boisterous rejoicings of only fifteen months before. We have seen Lord CASTLEREAGH received in the House of Commons, the members all standing up and clapping their hands: we have seen WELLINGTON with a dukedom and about a million in money thought too little for him: we have now (1833) seen that same CASTLEREAGH cutting his own throat and killing himself at NORTH CRAY, in Kent, only seven years after this clapping of hands: and we have seen that same WELLINGTON with bullet-proof window-shutters to his house, his name being rubbed out from the corners of streets, and his picture hauled down from the sign-posts. It is for history, real history, useful history, to trace such wonderful changes to their source; and this I trust is a duty which I shall be able to perform, when I come to the proper place for doing it.

289. At present, to account for the great change just described, which was almost that of a change from nuptial rejoicing to that of funeral mourning, it is necessary to state, that a great diminution of the quantity of the circulating money had, from the following cause, taken place since the conclusion of the treaty of Paris of 1814. Dur-

ing the war the paper-money of the Bank of England was, by law and in effect, a *legal tender*; that is to say, men were compelled, if required so to do, to take it in payment of debts; and as other banks could pay their paper in Bank-of-England paper, all was in fact a paper-money, as completely as the assignats of France had ever been, only not depreciated to the same extent. Prices were, generally speaking, during the war, and the latter part of the war especially, double what they had been previous to the war, and double what they naturally would be again if an end were put to this depreciation of the paper-money.

290. Now the cause of the distress which began to make its appearance the moment the peace of Paris was concluded, was this; as the law then stood it provided *for the resumption of cash-payments by the Bank of England at the end of six months after the conclusion of a treaty of peace with France*. Of course the moment that treaty was concluded in 1814 the Bank began to provide for resuming its payments in cash; or in other words, to provide itself with gold to take up its depreciated paper. Or, to speak in more intelligible language, to give to the holders of its notes, who would at the end of that six months have a right to demand, and who certainly would demand, gold in exchange for the notes. The Bank had no other mode of effecting this object

than by withholding the discounts or lendings of paper-money which they had been accustomed to carry on for a long time. To withhold this discount, was to take out of circulation many millions of the then circulating money. The parliament did not, indeed enforce the law at the end of six months ; we shall afterwards find when we come to speak fully of the history of this matter, which we shall find connected, and closely connected, with all the present (1833) revolutionary movements: we shall find that the Bank, and those who throw about paper-money, prevailed upon the parliament to put off the enforcement of this law from time to time for nine years longer ; but, there was no certainty that the parliament would do this : there was no certainty that it would not suffer the law to go into effect at the end of six months, beginning in June 1814 ; and, if it had, the enforcement of the law would have taken place in December 1814. This, therefore, placed the Bank in a state of great peril : it compelled that institution, which had in fact an almost direct control over the fortune of every man in the country, and especially every man in trade ; this uncertainty compelled that body to resort to the means before described, of securing itself against absolute bankruptcy.

291. This was the cause of the diminution of the quantity of the money circulating in the country ; this produced a species of stagnation

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in all the pursuits of industry, such as is not to be described to any one who was not a spectator of the scene. "Money became scarce;" every one had it in his mouth, "*How scarce money is!*" The mass of mankind cannot, without a cessation of the pursuits necessary to the carrying on of the affairs of the world, acquire that knowledge which is necessary to make them understand the real cause of effects like these. All at once, prices fell: rents were, in fact, nearly doubled in real amount: timber, bought upon credit the year before, had now to be paid for in the nominal amount contracted for, while it took double the quantity of timber to be sold for that amount. *Credit* is, in ordinary circumstances, of great value to a nation, as well as to an individual: the solidity of every thing in England; the confidence between man and man; these, to which may be added the very character of the people, have made England a country of credit: the great object here, amongst tradespeople, seems to be, to get you to take their things away, without hardly an inquiry as to the time of payment: almost all is credit; and, let the reader observe, that this change, with regard to the currency, nearly doubled the amount of every debt in reality: let him further observe, that it is the poorer part who are the debtors, and the richer part who are the creditors; the thousands who are the creditors and the millions who

are the debtors : let them bear these things in mind, and he will no longer wonder, that this people, who had been drunk and mad in 1814, became, notwithstanding the battle of Waterloo, sober, thoughtful, and, so far from rejoicing at the peace, that took place in 1815, were everywhere heard exclaiming, "*Curse the victories, and curse the peace.*"

CHAPTER VI.

American War.—Grounds of it.—Tyranny of Impressment.—Motives of English Government.—Their deadly Hostility to Freedom.—Their employing Captain Henry as a secret Agent in the United States.—Their Treatment of Americans whom they had impressed.—Their shutting of them up in a Prison in Dartmoor.—Their Determination to destroy Freedom in America.—John Wilson Croker's Manifesto.—Devastation of the Towns and Villages and Plunder of the Farm-houses on the American Sea-coast.—Bloody Works of our Allies, the Savages, at French-town, on the River Raisin.—Sacking of the little Town Hampton, in Virginia.—Burning of Washington.—Gross Delusion of the People of England.

292. WE are now about to enter on that event, or, rather, series of events, which were the most disgraceful to England of any that took place during the whole of this disgraceful re-

gency and reign. We are now going to see pulled down the insolent pride of that NAVY, to question the superiority, and, indeed, the invincibility, and even almost the omnipotence, of which, was deemed presumption approaching towards legal crime ; and the officers of which the people seemed to think it their duty to cringe to as to beings of an admitted superior order. We are now going to witness those events and transactions which snatched the incense from the altar of this race of idols, worshipped by the folly and baseness of the people. We are going to behold that series of occurrences which, more than anything else that has happened within a hundred years, has tended to restore the cowering and besotted people of England to their spirit and their senses, and to convince them of the nothingness of rank and title, when put in competition with a love of freedom and a resolution to maintain it.

293. The reader will bear in mind, that this war was concluded by a treaty of peace, in the month of December 1814, as mentioned in the last chapter, paragraph 227 ; and that, in the same chapter, we left this war on one side, in order to avoid breaking the chain of the narrative relating to the second fall of NAPOLEON. We must now go back to *the origin* of this American war, which the reader will find, fully stated, in the paragraphs from 142 to 154, both

inclusive. When those paragraphs have been read over again, the reader will be prepared to resume the history of this war, and to go through it to the end.

294. We must, however here notice some transactions which took place previous to the DECLARATION OF WAR, which, as we have seen, was made by the Americans on the 18th of June, 1812. The *grounds* of the war have been stated: those grounds had always been in existence, more or less, from the year 1793 until the time when the war was actually declared. There had been a reconciliation by Treaty, in 1794; but the conduct of England had always been a subject of complaint with the Americans: she was always issuing some Order in Council or another; always laying some restraint upon the Americans, which they complained of as breaches of the laws of neutrality; but, these differences were patched up from time to time, till at last our naval officers assumed the right of *impressing seamen upon the high seas from on board the ships of America*; and they, with the utmost insolence, and unsparing violence, did all those things which are mentioned in the latter part of paragraph 146. Still the two nations were *at peace* all this while; and our government was always expressing towards that of the United States, the most sincere and ardent desire to cherish and preserve all the relationships of amity and good-will.

295. Hollow, indeed, were these professions; for, just previous to the declaration of war being issued by America, it was discovered by the American government, that the English government had been employing a *secret agent* in the United States, *for the purpose of embarrassing the government of the United States, and of effecting, if practicable, a breaking-up of the union of the States!* This discovery appears to have been made by the President in the month of March, 1812; just about three months previous to the declaration of war. The President communicated the information to the two Houses of Congress; and the documents attached to his Message, established these facts; “that the British government, in the midst of amicable professions towards the United States, employed a secret agent in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the nation, and in intrigues with the disaffected, for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws; and, eventually, in concert with a British force, of destroying the union, and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connexion with Great Britain.” All the documents were laid before the Congress; and they fully established the facts stated by the President. These documents show,* that one JOHN HENRY, who was called Captain HENRY,

* See all the documents in Cobbett's Political Register, vol. xxi. page 689 to page 704; and page 724 to page 735.

was employed, as the President describes by Sir JAMES H. CRAIG, the Governor of Canada. There are letters from CRAIG himself to HENRY ; from RYLAND, CRAIG's secretary, to HENRY ; divers letters from HENRY to CRAIG and to RYLAND ; Letters from Lord LIVERPOOL, and Mr. PEEL, now Sir ROBERT PEEL, expressing approbation of HENRY's conduct ; and clearly showing, that he was an agent, authorized by the government ; and that the objects of his agency were those which were stated to the Congress by the President.

296. This is a matter wholly unknown to the people of England : it came forth in the bustle of war : it was stifled by the hireling press : but, it forms a material fact in this history ; for it was a great addition to the other grounds of war ; it being manifestly impossible to live at peace with a government capable of deeds like this, which it is not necessary to characterize, because every man of common honesty will characterize them for himself. It is, however, for us Englishmen to remember, that one of the grounds of our government for making war upon the French republicans was, that they *sent agents into foreign countries to stir up the people against the governments.* Here, in this JOHN HENRY, we have a man *demanding his reward*, for having devised a scheme for separating a part of the United States from their government, and having in some measure,

effected his purpose ; and we have, under the hands of Lord LIVERPOOL and Sir ROBERT PEEL, expressions of approbation of his conduct ; and let Englishmen remember this, and let them remember, that it belongs to this Regency of George the Fourth. We shall, by-and-by, find A SPY employed by the *British admirals*, during this war ; but, in such a country, and with such a people, there was not much to be done in this way. There was no *purchasing of victories* ; and, therefore, there were no victories to be got ; and this we shall see proved in the sequel. This exposure arose from a very common cause : the secret agent demanded *his reward* ; he did not get it ; and he took his revenge by exposing his employers !

297. Having the parties thus fairly before us, we may now begin to take a look at the proceedings of the war. The first step, on our part, was a step, the equal of which had never before been heard of in the world : it was this : we have seen that the great aggression of which the Americans complained was, that monstrous act of tyranny, the impressing of seamen, on the high seas, on board of American vessels, and forcing them to serve on board of British ships of war. It has always been thought an act of great hardship, to say the least of it, to impress English seamen out of English ships, and to compel them to serve on board of English ships of war. What

then must it have been, forcibly to drag Americans from on board their ships, and compel them to serve on board of British ships of war! It was an act of tyranny not to be endured by anybody but slaves. The Americans would not endure it. The men thus impressed refused to perform duty on board the English ships. They were repeatedly *flogged in the most severe manner*. Affidavits proving this treatment got home to their friends; these affidavits were published throughout the country; the country was in a blaze; the country demanded war, the paper-money people and all the commercial ruffians in connexion with England, preached up submission, deprecated war, accused the President of siding with France; formed A CONVENTION, as suggested by the agent HENRY, for the purpose of splitting up the States, or compelling the President to desist from war: but the people prevailed; and the war was declared.

298. England being now at war with *their own* country, the impressed Americans, refused to stir hand or foot, in the duty of our ships. Many of them complained, that they were *flogged most severely even for this refusal* to fight against their own country! At last the efforts to make them fight were given up; and then, what did the English government do with them? Send them home, to be sure? No: but made them PRISONERS OF WAR; and close prisoners

of war : shut them up in a close prison, on a bleak and naked down in Devonshire, called DARTMOOR, in which prison we shall by-and-by see that some of them were *killed*, on a charge of "MUTINY."

299. This was a pretty good beginning of a war, undertaken to maintain the right of impressing foreign seamen on the high seas. It was not long, however, before the Americans took ample vengeance ; not in this way, but in the way of honourable warfare ; the war, as we have seen, was declared in the month of June. Before the end of October ; at least, before the Congress met again in November, they had captured two of our finest frigates, each after a few minutes fighting against single American frigates : nearly two hundred and fifty vessels had been captured from us, more than fifty of them armed vessels, carrying altogether upwards of five hundred and seventy guns ; and more than three thousand of our seamen had been made prisoners ; and all this, let it be observed, by a nation who had been scoffed at by our navy, and whose seamen had been taken with as little ceremony as a warrener takes rabbits out of his nets.

300. It is not my plan to pursue the regular chronological order in giving an account of the battles either by land or by sea ; but, with regard to the naval engagements, it is my intention to give an accurate summary by-and-by, in order

that we may have the whole of our disgrace under our eyes at one view. When the war began, the Americans made an attack upon Canada; there was fight after fight in Canada, and upon the borders of the Lakes. Sometimes the victory lay on one side, and sometimes on the other; but generally the Americans were the victors; and signally so in those particular instances, which I shall have to mention by-and-by; and which I must mention; though my principal object is, to enable my readers to judge rightly of the conduct of the government, and of its motives and objects.

301. We will now lay the mere military and naval proceedings of the war aside, until we have accounted for the *continuance* of the war, after the peace of PARIS in 1814. That peace was not signed at PARIS until the 30th of May; but NAPOLEON *was put down*, by treaty, on the 11th of April, and it was, a month before that time, quite clear that he would be put down. He being subdued, and England left without an enemy, what were the Americans to do? Why there was, in fact, an end to all ground of war between England and America: the war had arisen out of grounds created in consequence of the existence of war between England and France: that war being at an end, there was no longer in existence any ground of quarrel. Ah! but those who thought thus did not know the English govern-

ment, and the motives and views of the aristocracy and the money-mongers of England !

302. So far from the war with America being at an end, it was soon found that the English government looked upon it as being now about to *begin* in good earnest. NAPOLEON had hardly concluded his treaty of abdication, and of banishment to ELBA, than the London press (always the pioneer in such cases) began to call upon the government for vigorous war against America ; to call upon it no longer to stand shilly-shally, but to send out a force, “ sufficient to *crush the rebels* at once.”

303. The ministers kept a guarded silence upon the subject for some time ; but their press cried aloud for an army and a fleet irresistible, to be sent out to crush what they called the rebels in America. It was distinctly stated in newspapers well known to be under the immediate influence of the government, that no peace ought to be made with America until JAMES MADISON (the President) should be *deposed* ! Indeed the re-colonization of the States was as confidently spoken of as if their independence had never been acknowledged by the King. Sir JOSEPH YORKE, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, stated in parliament, that we had Mr. MADISON to depose before we could lay down our arms ; and though he was not what is called a minister, it is impossible to believe that he would have said this in

terms so plain, and in a manner so public, if the design had not been entertained by the ministers themselves. It is true that no minister confirmed his assertion, but no one expressed his dissent from it, and the statement was loudly cheered by the House.

304. Besides this there appeared, in the *Vienna Gazette*, a sort of demi-official article, amounting almost to proof positive, that this design was deliberately entertained. The article was in these words : “ It is affirmed, that besides
“ the conventions which England has concluded
“ with the other allied powers, it has also made
“ *a secret agreement relative to North America.*
“ By this agreement England has procured from
“ all the other European powers the assurance
“ that, after the re-establishment of peace in
“ Europe, *none of them will interfere in the dis-*
“ *putes between his Britannic Majesty and North*
“ *America,* and France is also to engage, in the
“ peace to be concluded, *to subscribe to the same*
“ *conditions.*” This was published at VIENNA on the 9th of April, in the same Gazette with the Treaty of CHAUMONT, by which treaty the deposing of NAPOLEON was settled.

305. But, to leave no doubt whatsoever upon this subject, let me advert to, and give the words of, a sort of PROCLAMATION or MANIFESTO, issued by the Lords of the Admiralty, on the 30th of April ; which, when the reader has attended

to it," cannot leave a doubt in his mind that the English government fully intended the subjugation of the United States ; or, at the very least, the destruction of its republican form of government.

" ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, April 30, 1814.

" The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty cannot announce to the Fleet the termination of hostilities with France, without expressing to the petty officers, seamen, and royal marines of his Majesty's ships, the high sense which their Lordships entertain of their gallant and glorious services during the late war.—The patience, perseverance, and discipline ; the skill, courage, and devotion, with which the seamen and marines have upheld the best interests, and achieved the noblest triumphs of the country, entitle them to the gratitude, not only of their native land, which they have preserved inviolate, but of the other nations of Europe, of whose ultimate deliverance their successes maintained the hope, and accelerated the accomplishment.—Their Lordships regret that the unjust and unprovoked aggression of the American GOVERNMENT, in declaring war upon this Country, after *all the causes of its original complaint had been removed*, does not permit them to reduce the fleet at once to a Peace establishment ; but as the question now at issue in this war is *the maintenance of those maritime rights which are the sure foundations of our naval glory*, their Lordships look with confidence to that part of the fleet which it may be still necessary to keep in commission, for a continuance of that spirit of discipline and gallantry which has raised the British Navy to its present pre-eminence.—In reducing the fleet to the establishment necessary for the American war, the seamen and marines will find their Lordships attentive to the claims of their respective services.—The reduction will be first made in the crews of those ships which it may be found expedient to pay off, and from them the petty officers and seamen will be successively discharged, according to the length of their services ; beginning in the first instance with all those who were in his

“ Majesty’s service previous to the 7th of March, 1808, and
“ have since continued in it. — When the reduction shall have
“ been thus made, as to the ships paid off, their Lordships
“ will direct their attention to those which it may be found
“ necessary to keep in commission, and as soon as the cir-
“ cumstances of the war will admit, will bring home and dis-
“ charge all persons having the same standing and periods of
“ service as those before discharged from the ships paid off ;
“ so that, in a few months, the situation of individuals will
“ be equalized ; all men of a certain period of service will be
“ at liberty to return home to their families ; and the number
“ which it may be still necessary to retain will be composed
“ of those who have been the shortest time in the service. —
“ An arrangement in itself so just cannot, in their Lordships’
“ opinion, fail to give universal satisfaction ; and they are
“ induced to make this communication to the fleet, because
“ they think that the exemplary good conduct of all the petty
“ officers, seamen, and marines, entitles them to every confi-
“ dence, and to this full and candid explanation of their Lord-
“ ships’ intentions. — Their Lordships cannot conclude with-
“ out expressing their hope, that the valour of his Majesty’s
“ fleets and armies will speedily bring the American contest
“ to a conclusion honourable to the British name, safe for
“ British interests, and conducive to the lasting repose of the
“ civilized world.

“ By command of their Lordships,

“ J. W. CROKER.”

306. I beg the reader to pay particular attention to this document. It was a new *Manifesto* against America. It was a perfect novelty ; there was no precedent for it : and the reader will see what a strange thing it was for a mere *Board* to assume the sovereign prerogative of addressing the navy ; and particularly of addressing the petty officers and seamen relative to the *grounds of a war* in which they were engaged. Here was a

great matter of diplomacy committed to a Board; and the parties addressed were precisely those who were forbidden, by the nature of their service, to deliberate. But this mode of issuing a manifesto was resorted to, because the government itself wished to leave its motives and views not clearly to be seen : it was one of those numerous shifts to which this government resorted during the whole of this and the preceding reign to disguise its rooted hostility to freedom and to all free institutions of government.

307. Why address petty officers and sailors upon the grounds and the objects of a war? However, let us look at the falsehoods contained in this *Manifesto*. These poor sailors were told, that the Americans declared war without any provocation, and after all the causes of their complaint had been removed. We have seen the conspiracy of Captain HENRY, which was quite sufficient of itself to justify the Americans in declaring war; but we have seen, in Chapter III, paragraph 147, that the great complaint of the Americans was, the impressment of their seamen on the high seas. They had, indeed, also complained of injuries done to their commerce by our tyrannical and unprecedented Orders in Council. These orders were, indeed, recalled previous to the American declaration of war; but these orders were a mere trifle, compared with the impressment of the seamen; the taking of men from on board

their quiet merchant-ships; flogging them, causing them to be wounded, and frequently killed, in battle; forcing them into a service which they abhorred, taking them to distant climates, exposing them constantly to danger and to death, and filling America with distressed parents, wives, and children; fathers and mothers bereft of their sons, wives and children bereft of their husbands and fathers. The man who signed this Manifesto was an Irish barrister, who got into place by defending the Duke of YORK in the case of Mrs. CLARKE. He might discover great ingenuity upon that occasion, but here he put his name to a sheer falsehood. The causes of the complaint of the Americans had not been removed when they declared war; yet this hoodwinked nation believed it; and there was a general cry of "*treachery*" as committed by the Americans; and thus the nation was enlisted on the side of the war.

308. The Irish barrister next tells the petty officers and seamen, that "the question at issue" is, whether we shall maintain those maritime "rights which are the foundation of our *naval glory*." So that this glory was founded, then, on our right, forcibly and highwayman-like, to seize upon innocent merchantmen on the high seas; and to take seamen out of them to fight our battles? Was not this disgraceful? Was not this a piece of deception that ought not to have

been attempted by a thing calling itself a government?

309. On the part of such people nothing can surprise ; and therefore the language made use of to coax and wheedle the petty officers and seamen, we will let pass ; but we cannot help admiring Mr. CROKER's conclusion, " that the " object of this war is, to secure the lasting repose of the world " ! That is to say, to put down for ever a successful example of free government, existing under very moderately paid placemen, and having neither pensions, sinecures, retired allowances, established church, tithes, nor order of nobility. Ah ! JOHN WILSON CROKER ! the Americans had read your fine speeches about Mrs. CLARKE and the Duke of YORK ; lovely as that connexion had been, they did not wish to see the like in their homely country ; and perceiving that "*the lasting repose of the world*" was to be secured only by making them sweat for the support of MARY ANN CLARKES, and the like, they were determined to fight rather than suffer the " repose of the world " to be secured ; and fight they did in reality, as we shall see in the sequel.

310. Though this was the language of the sly government, their tools, the newspapers, spoke out more broadly. They urged the government on to pursue a war of destruction against the Americans ; and for what ? Not for the purpose of obtaining redress for any wrong ; not for the pur-

pose of maintaining the maritime rights and power of the country ; but for the purpose of crushing the American navy in its shell ; for the purpose of taking it in time and destroying it for ever. This was the motive stated to the people by the newspapers ; and this in fact was the motive with which they contrived to fill the minds of the people. In cases like this there is nothing equal to undeniable facts ; and therefore I here take a passage from one of these newspapers, a paper called the "*Times*," and the article which I am about to quote was published in that paper in the early part of July 1814.

" In another part of this paper our readers will see a document calculated to call forth the *most serious reflections*. We allude to the official statement of the American marine force, which may now, *alas ! without irony*, be termed a navy. It consists (including three seventy-fours likely soon to be launched) of 33 vessels of war for the ocean, carrying 947 guns, and 32 vessels for the lakes, carrying 265 guns, beside 203 gun-boats, barges, &c. This force, we have no hesitation in saying, *must be annihilated*. To dream of making peace, until we have performed that *essential duty* to ourselves and our posterity, would be a folly too deplorable for common reprehension. It would betray a wilful and voluntary disregard of the *national safety*. Let us never forget that the present war is an unprovoked attack on the very existence of Great Britain. The arch conspirators, of whom Madison is the ostensible, and Jefferson the real head, fancied that, whilst our army was employed in Spain, they could with ease wrest Canada from our dominion. To any considerable naval successes they did not even lift their hopes ; but the fatal surrender of the *Gurriere* opened new prospects to them. Intoxicated with delight at beholding the British flag struck to the American, the *democratic go-*

"vernment seriously set about the task, which they had
 "before considered hopeless, of forming a navy. It is pain-
 "ful to reflect how far they have proceeded in this under-
 "taking. It is infinitely more painful to consider that even
 "the gallant affair of the *Chesapeake* has hardly served to
 "check the full tide of their presumptuous hopes. They are
 "now persuaded that the sea is *their element*, and *not ours*.—
 "Defeated and disgraced by land, they turn with pride and
 "confidence toward the ocean. Their very avarice is hushed ;
 "their despicable economy is overcome ; and in peace or war
 "they will henceforth look to one great object—the wresting
 "the trident from the hand of Britain.—It is *idle to talk of*
 "*disputing with them about principles*. They will give up any
 "principle to-day, and re-assert it to-morrow ; and whether
 "they do or not is totally insignificant : but the struggle with
 "them is for actual power—power actually employed towards
 "our destruction. There is but one way to turn the current
 "of their thoughts and efforts from their present direction,
 "and that is, *to crush their growing navy to atoms*. The enter-
 "prize may be twice as difficult now, as it would have been
 "(had our means then permitted it) in the first month of the
 "war ; but it will infallibly be ten times as difficult, nay, it
 "may become absolutely impossible, if it is delayed till a
 "future war. *Now America stands alone* ; hereafter she may
 "have allies. *Let us strike while the iron is hot.*"

311. JOHN WILSON CROKER's Manifesto, which I have inserted above, bears date, the reader will perceive, the 30th of April, 1814. The article just inserted is of two months later date ; but the language of the newspapers had been growing more and more urgent for war from the 30th of April up to this time. During those two months, defeat after defeat had been experienced by our navy ; so that the exasperation had become quite horrible at the time when the publication just inserted took place. We must now

go back to the date of JOHN WILSON CROKER'S Manifesto ; because the wickedness of this war turns upon its motive. This war added seventy millions to the debt of England : and, therefore, it is of the utmost importance that we ascertain its motive and leave no doubt whatever upon the subject. Many of the actors in this drama are still alive. Now is the time to put the facts upon record while they may contradict them, if they have the means. We have seen that, when the war ceased with France, the war with America ceased to have a cause, seeing that the grounds of dispute were put an end to by the existence of war between England and France. But while the Americans had four Commissioners in Europe, eagerly seeking to put an end to the war, we have seen that, at the very moment that the English government made peace with France, they took care to stipulate with all the rest of the powers, that none of them should interfere in the war between England and America. Why this stipulation ? Why ask for such a stipulation ? The object was, to continue the war against America single-handed, and to crush her for ever ; that is to say, to destroy her constitution, if not to recolonize her ; to break up her union, at the least, as had been contemplated by the secret agency of Captain HENRY.

312. And now I have to relate something that came to my own knowledge with regard to

the intentions of this government. A day or two before the issuing of the manifesto of JOHN WILSON CROKER, J, about nine o'clock in the morning, was going along the street, and passing the door of the Treasury in WHITEHALL. Out of that door came the late Mr. JOHN REEVES, who was a sinecure placeman to the amount of about five thousand pounds a year, clear money ; and who, of course, detested everything resembling the American constitution and government ; being, however, except with regard to his politics, a very worthy man, and a very good friend of mine. He had just heard the intentions of the government with regard to America ; and, everlastingly disputing with me as to such matters, he could not in the fulness of his joy, restrain himself from communicating to me the triumphant intelligence. He told me, in the way of taunt : " You will now see your friends, the Yankees, done for." " What," said I, " you are not going to make colonies of them, are you ?" " Perhaps not," said he, " but we shall demolish their towns upon the coast ; and harass them and divide them, and break up their jacobin government."

313. I knew that REEVES was not a man to say this to me without there being something in it. His anxiety for the success of such a horrible scheme might make him exaggerate ; but I knew that he would not have said this unless there had been something of truth in it. There were four

American Commissioners constantly residing in Europe, in order to obtain peace. They had been amused and shuffled off from time to time on one pretence or another ; and at the time I am now speaking of, three of them had been ordered out of England, and were at the HAGUE. One of them, Mr. BAYARD, was suffered to remain in England, and was in London. Mr. BAYARD, who was a lawyer, and a representative of the State of DELAWARE, I had known in the State of DELAWARE, very intimately, twenty years before. He was residing in ALBEMARLE Street, with his secretary, a Mr. HUGHES. From the Treasury door in WHITEHALL, I went to Mr. BAYARD, introduced myself upon the score of old acquaintanceship, and related to him precisely that which I had heard from Mr. REEVES, expressing to him my firm conviction, that it was the intention of the English government to avail itself of the then favourable opportunity of breaking up the free institutions of America ; and thereby, of silencing the reformers in England for ever, and reducing the people of England to a state of the most abject slavery. I reminded him, that the war against France had been undertaken for the same purpose ; but that the borough-mongers of England were too cunning not to perceive, that the work was not half done, unless to the restoration of the Bourbons could be added the breaking up of the American government.

314. His answer to me was not only curious ; not only full of interest in itself ; but embraced a fact, which never ought to be effaced from the minds of the people of England. Mr. BAYARD had that placid courage which is the general inheritance of his countrymen ; but I could perceive that I had produced some alarm in his mind. The alarm, however, was not equal to his surprise ; and his answer was this : “ It is very “ strange if they have such views ; for, it was only “ yesterday that I received the most positive “ assurance, that the *deposing of NAPOLEON will “ make no alterations whatsoever in the intentions “ of the ministers with regard to America.*” “ Ah !” said I, “ and do you believe them ?” “ Not the ministers,” said he, “ they have not “ made the declaration to me ; it has been made “ to me by Mr. TIERNEY, who had the assurance “ from Lord LIVERPOOL himself.”

315. Now, in the office of Secretary of State for America, all these facts are recorded. Mr. BAYARD instantly sent off a dispatch to WASHINGTON, giving an account of our interview ; and when the President had afterwards to complain of the ferocious proceedings on the sea-coast of America, he, in alluding to this very intelligence, told the Congress, that this scheme of devastation and blood had been contrived and resolved upon at the very moment, “ when the English ministers were giving to our commissioners in Europe,

“ the most solemn assurances, that the successes
“ in France should not at all change their pacific
“ dispositions with regard to America.”

316. Thus, then, there remains not a fragment of doubt, that the re-colonization, the dividing, the breaking up, of the American States were the real objects of this war. But there is, in this case, something for the people of England to attend to with regard to the political factions in England. This TIERNEY was what they call a “ WHIG ;” he was even the leader, at that time, of what they call “ the OPPOSITION ;” but he had been a placeman ; he was then a pensioner to a great amount ; and he desired the destruction of the liberties of America as sincerely as rat ever desired the destruction of cat. He must have known, that he was telling Mr. BAYARD an atrocious falsehood. That could not be hidden from him, which was known to all the clerks in the offices. He did, unquestionably, know the real intentions of the government when he gave Mr. BAYARD this assurance. Besides, had he not long known all about the secret agency of Captain HENRY ; had he not read all about that secret agency ? and yet he never mentioned it in the House of Commons. No, with regard to the destruction of American freedom, both the factions were of a mind : they both knew that the people of England were never to be reduced to live upon potatoes and salt, as long as the intelligence

should be continually arriving, that the people of America were having beef-steaks for breakfast. They knew that they should be constantly reminded that there were no lady-pensioners and lady-sinecure place-people under that republican government ; they knew that they would be constantly told, that that government could be carried on without church-rates and without tithes ; they knew this ; and, therefore, if they could not prevent that government from existing, they saw that their own places and sinecures could not long exist ; and that the enormous emoluments of the clergy must follow the same fate : but, in addition to these motives, which were quite powerful enough however, there was the horrible and indescribable fear of seeing this cheap republican government exist in *spite of war* ; for it to exist at all was terrific enough ; but, for it to survive a war, and a war *single-handed* against England ; or, rather, a war against England united with her hordes of Canadians and savages to the amount of fifty or sixty thousand armed men ; for the cheap and free and mild and plenty-spreading government of America to exist through a war like this ; and that, too, without ever talking about a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act : to contemplate the possibility of this, was what this government, aristocracy, and clergy, could not endure.

317. To these motives, we must, however, add

another, and that one of no small account ; namely, the DEADLY REVENGE of the Navy people, now covering the sea, and swarming over part of the land like locusts in point of number. Numerous had already been the battles ; and, in every instance, one only excepted, gun for gun, and man for man, the English had been defeated, and that, too, attended with every circumstance arguing real inferiority ; scores of British merchant-men were actually captured by the Americans in the Irish Channel, and within sight of our own coast. Nearly twenty years had passed away in braggings about the invincibility of our navy, and in decrying and ridiculing the word "*navy*," as applied to the American ships of war. There was a man of the name of CANNING, who, though the son of a play-actress, had, by sheer impudence, joined to fluency of talk, and to an invariable hostility to freedom in every part of the world, risen to be, not only a member of parliament, but a Secretary of State. This man, in answer to some one, who, early in 1812, deprecated war with America, and talked of its dangers ; this flippant and saucy up-start, in answer to these observations, observed that, " however he might participate in the fears of " the honourable Member, that the British navy, " *consisting of a thousand ships of war*, might " be compelled to strike its flag to half-a-dozen " fir frigates, with bits of striped bunting flying

“ at their mast-heads, still he would not yield to “ the *bills of lading*, without trial, at any rate.” So that the reader will judge of the contemptuous manner in which this American navy was treated, of which manner we have here merely a specimen. At the outset of the war, in answer to the Congress’s Declaration of War, some of the newspapers proposed that the *watermen of the Thames*, with their boats, should be sent out to settle the affair with Mr. MADISON.

318. After all this, it was absolutely necessary to do something to wipe off the disgrace which our navy had already experienced ; and revenge was breathed from one end of the country to the other. Yet, there was a fearfulness constantly waiting upon this feeling of revenge ; for the Americans not only defeated our ships and captured them ; but did it, in every instance, so quickly, and with such terrible slaughter, that our people seemed to talk and to feel as if they were at war with JUPITER’s thunderbolts. And, then, this navy of ours had been so pampered ; so be-praised ; sung by poets of all sizes ; and those belonging to it had taken such an air of superiority of us poor souls who had to work to pay them and clothe them, that hell itself seemed less terrible to these heroes than the thought of being brought down to the level of mortal men. From the beginning of the French war there was a man of the name of DIBDIN, of

whom it was openly said, and universally believed, that he had a pension of 200*l.* a year for writing songs to extol the prowess of the navy. He used to sing and act them himself at a little theatre in LEICESTER-SQUARE, where the audience, and particularly the "*ladies*," were lost in ecstatic delight at the deeds of gallantry which he recorded, and at his poetic flights in recording them. There was a caricature-man of the name of GILLRAY, who, during PITT's time, received a pension of 200*l.* a year for the same loyal, wise, and just purpose. This man actually complained against PITT's successor because he did not continue the pension !

319. Already, even before the deposing of NAPOLEON, the high-coloured comb of this navy had been cut, and it was quite surprising to observe the effect of that cutting. The "*Gentlemen of his Majesty's Navy*" assumed quite a different air and step; condescended to have a look of mortality when they met us in the streets ; had the goodness to yield their undoubted and long-enjoyed privilege of shoving us from the wall ; ceased to " spit fore-right," like the captain in Dr. DONNE, but abated their heads and spat upon the ground like other mortals; in their voices they were no longer the rivals of the trumpet, and seemed, altogether, to be quite another sort of men ; spoke of the Yankees with great bitterness, but in a plaintive, rather than a menacing style : so that, though we were paying severely for this war, we felt it

to be a great gain to us ; and all sensible men foresaw, that, if the Americans triumphed *in the end*, all the hopes of those who wished to see potatoes and salt the food of Englishmen, were destroyed for ever.

320. The nation, therefore, having had a little time to reflect, began to discover satisfaction at this humiliation of the navy ; began to see, and began to say, that the Americans were fighting the battles of the tax-paying people of England ; and it required more than the efforts of three hundred base newspapers, a hundred magazines and reviews, half a thousand of ragamuffin pamphlets, double the number of speeches in parliament, and ten times the number of sermons, to make them see the thing in a different light.

321. This enraged all the tax-eating part of the community ; and it drove those of the navy absolutely frantic. The case, however, was a desperate one : something must be done to wipe off this disgrace, or it was manifest that the reformers would finally get the upper hand in England ; and it was in this state of things, that those measures of devastation on the coast of America were resolved on.

322. No time was lost in putting these measures into execution. Admiral Sir ALEXANDER COCHRAN, having Admiral COCKBURN second in command under him, fell upon the Atlantic

coast of the United States. But, before we speak of the gallant exploits of these admirals, and of the army that accompanied them, we must mention the affair of the river RAISIN, the Americans on one side, and the English and their Allies, the savages, on the other side. This battle, which was followed by the bloody massacre, presently to be spoken of, was fought on the Canadian frontier, at a village called FRENCH-TOWN, which is on the river RAISIN. The Americans, to the number of about four hundred men, officers and all, were, finally compelled to surrender, on condition that they should be treated as prisoners of war, and protected from the savages. What did take place, according to the account of the Americans, was as follows :

“ Whereas it is deemed necessary that our fellow-citizens
“ should be informed of the late perfidious and brutal acts
“ of the British government, performed by their officers at
“ the battle of French Town. Resolved, That the following
“ statement of the conduct of the British officers be published to our countrymen :

“ That when General Winchester was taken prisoner on
“ the 22nd January, 1813, and brought before the British
“ commander, he directed the commanding officer of the Americans (Major Madison) to surrender. Major Madison
“ refused so to do, unless those surrendered should be free
“ from savage massacre ; this was agreed to ; and the British officers pledged themselves to leave a sufficient force
“ with the wounded to protect them, and that they should
“ be conveyed to Malden the next morning. They likewise
“ promised to return to the officers their arms at Malden.

“ Captain N. G. F. Hart, inspector to the north-western

“ army, being among the wounded, it was proposed by his
“ friends, that they should carry him with them: this they
“ were prevented from doing by Captain Elliott, a British
“ officer, and an old acquaintance of Captain Hart's, who
“ promised Captain Hart his special protection—to convey
“ him in his own sleigh to Malden that evening, and inform-
“ ing him that he should be welcome to remain at his house
“ there, until he should recover.

“ These were the promises of the British, let our coun-
“ trymen and the world see how they were fulfilled.

“ At the break of day next morning the savages were suf-
“ fered to commit every depredation upon our wounded
“ which they pleased. An indiscriminate slaughter took
“ place, of all who were unable to walk, many were toma-
“ hawked, and many were burned alive in the houses.
“ Among the unfortunate thus murdered, it is with regret
“ and sorrow we have to name Captains Hart and Hickman.

“ The arms of the officers, as promised, were never re-
“ turned. Every species of private property remaining in
“ the tents, belonging to both officers and soldiers, were
“ plundered by the savages.

“ Resolved, That in consideration of the high respect we
“ hold the memories of both officers and soldiers who were
“ thus cruelly murdered, by permission of the British com-
“ mander, *Proctor*, and his subalterns, and those who glo-
“ riously fell in the *field, defending the only free government*
“ *on earth*, that each of us wear black crape on our hats and
“ left arm for the space of ninety days.

“ Resolved, That a similar procedure, testifying their re-
“ spect for those who were murdered and fell on that day,
“ be recommended to our brother officers and soldiers, who
“ survived it.”

323. Now, whether there be any exaggeration here or not, it is impossible to say; in such cases there generally is; but all the world knows that this statement never was denied; never directly and unequivocally denied. This alliance with savages is, of itself, quite enough

to fill us with horror. To what a state must England have been reduced, when she kept in her pay these bloody monsters, and to help her do what? To destroy men; to cut them to pieces; to burn them alive in their houses, because they were fighting to prevent their own innocent and industrious countrymen from being tyrannically impressed into ships of war of another nation. To feel hostility towards such men at all, argues a hard and wicked heart; but to feel hostility towards them for such a reason, argues a monstrousness of disposition which it is impossible adequately to describe.

324. While the war was thus carried on on the Canadian frontier, COCHRANE and COCKBURN, and General Ross, were proceeding on their exploits on the coast; the war there having been begun by Admiral WARREN. To give a particular account of all, or of any considerable number, of the attacks upon defenceless villages, on little hamlets, on private houses of gentlemen; of the attacks upon detached farm-houses, of the plunder in every case; of the severity inflicted upon the bodies of unarmed people: to give a particular account of all these; of the taking away of clothes; of the carrying off of bedding, plate, furniture, household goods: to give a particular account of a hundredth part of these acts; to record the burnings, the destroyings of cattle; of the sudden retreats; of the hastening away on

shipboard; to record these as the Americans have recorded them, in indelible characters; and especially, to record the plunderings, would require many large volumes instead of a page or two of a little book like this. But, with regard to the treatment of the people of the little undefended town of HAMPTON, in VIRGINIA, it is what must not be omitted. It was so horrible, that it was deemed worthy of the particular attention of the Congress itself, the subject having been communicated to that body by the President, in order for him to know its pleasure with regard to the passing of some law of retaliation. The Congress reported, and established the facts of the case; recommending remonstrance first, and then retaliation, unless the remonstrance succeeded. The account of this affair is given by MR. BRACKENRIDGE, in his "*History of the late War between the United States and Great Britain*," published at BALTIMORE, in 1817. I shall take the whole passage, expressing my belief, that MR. BRACKENRIDGE was a very impartial writer; and observing, that the facts underwent an examination before a committee of the Congress, and that the truth of them was confirmed by the report of that committee.

" We have again to record the inhuman and detestable
" conduct of those entrusted by Great Britain, with the di-
" rection of the war against America. Conduct which can
" scarcely find a parallel in the atrocious deeds committed by

“ the savages at the river Raisin. A series of equal outrages on all the laws of honourable war, is not to be met with in authentic history. No sooner was this village in quiet possession of the invaders, than full permission was given to the vile mercenary wretches which composed the British force, to give a loose to their worst passions and propensities. After acting the usual scenes of shameless plunder and devastation, in which officers and men took an equal share ; they proceeded to offer violence to the persons of the unfortunate inhabitants, whose age, whose sex, whose infirmities, precluded the possibility of escape. The wretched females were consigned to the gratification of the brutal desires of a brutal soldiery, with circumstances of indignity unheard of. Wives were torn from the sides of their wounded husbands, daughters from their mothers, and violated in their presence. Human nature was shocked beyond endurance at the detested spectacle ; mothers clasping their helpless babes to their bosoms, endeavoured to plunge at once into the sea, as the last sad refuge of despair : but even this was denied them, they were driven back, and compelled to undergo what was worse than ten thousand deaths. Was there no British officer who, on this occasion, felt for the honour of his country, and endeavoured, at the risk of his life, to save it from this indelible reproach ? It seems there was not one. The heart of humanity cannot fill up the disgusting picture with its revolting particulars. Would it be believed that a sick man of the name of Kirby, unable to rise from his bed, was set upon by these fiends, and murdered in the arms of his aged wife, who, because she desired to remonstrate, received the contents of a pistol in her body ; and, to complete the sacrilegious scene, they wantonly and cruelly put to death their faithful dog. Two sick men were murdered in the hospital, the medical stores were destroyed, all the wounded who fell into their hands, were not only denied medical aid, but even common sustenance, during two days, that they thus threw aside, not merely the characters of soldiers, of Christians, but of men.

“ This picture is by no means overcharged. It is founded upon the fullest evidence submitted to a *Committee of Con-*

“ *gress*, which reported upon it in still stronger terms. But
“ the substance was not denied by Sir Sidney Beckwith, to
“ whom it was communicated by General Taylor, and the
“ greater part actually acknowledged. The feelings of the
“ people throughout Virginia were, if possible, more excited
“ on this subject, than were those of the people of Kentucky,
“ at the massacres under Proctor. General Taylor, who
“ commanded the station, addressed a letter to Sir Sidney
“ Beckwith, conceived in that species of dignified and appal-
“ ling eloquence, which the feelings of an honourable man
“ alone can dictate, on the subject of such an outrage, and
“ by which guilt is compelled to seek for refuge in the shel-
“ tering meanness of falsehood and prevarication. General
“ Taylor, after stating the enormities of which the British
“ troops had been guilty, desired to be informed of the
“ nature of the war intended to be carried on against the
“ United States; whether the scenes at Hampton had been
“ unauthorised by the British government, or whether that
“ government had entirely thrown aside the ordinary usages
“ of war which govern civilized nations. ‘Worthless,’ said
“ he, ‘is the laurel steeped in female tears, and joyless the
“ ‘conquests which have inflicted needless woe on the
“ ‘peaceful and unresisting.’ Sir Sidney replied, that he was
“ sorry for the excesses at Hampton, and hoped that, in
“ future, the war would be carried on with as much regard
“ to humanity as possible. This evasive answer was not re-
“ ceived as satisfactory, one more explicit was required. He
“ then declared that the excesses were committed in retalia-
“ tion, for the conduct on the part of the Americans at
“ Crany Island, in shooting at the seamen who clung to a
“ barge which had overset. General Taylor *immediately*
“ *instituted a Court of Inquiry which proved the charge to be*
“ *without foundation.* On the result being communicated,
“ Sir Sidney did not think proper to give a written reply;
“ but promised verbally to withdraw his troops from the
“ neighbourhood, and excused himself, on the score of his
“ not having been acquainted with the kind of war to which
“ these men had been accustomed in Spain; that in fact,
“ they could not be restrained: but he added, that as soon as
“ he had found them engaged in such excesses, he had given

“ orders for them to re-embark. The facts will not, however, support the excuse, and there is no criminal who has perpetrated the grossest crime, that cannot fabricate as good. It is unpleasant to implicate Admiral Warren and Sir Sidney Beckwith, in this detestable affair, as their conduct has been in general of a different character.”

325. The same writer, speaking, a few pages afterwards, of Sir THOMAS HARDY's complaint of the torpedoes, made use of against him by the Americans, says, “ If any thing could justify this mode of attack, it had been the scenes of HAMPTON, and the deportment of COCKBURN and his crew ; but Commodore HARDY was a generous enemy, and merited different treatment.” This shows that Mr. BRACKENRIDGE was a fair and impartial writer, and that he did not approve of any thing like foul play, even when necessary to the defence of the harbours of his own country.

326. The affair at HAMPTON ought, doubtless, to be considered as an instance of excess ; as an extraordinary instance ; and so it was. But, some instances approaching it ; instances of plunder, personal violence to helpless people, taking away of money and of goods, and of carrying them on board of ship ; these exploits were going on during the whole of the summer of 1814 ; and yet not one word about them has one man out of every thousand men, in England, ever yet heard unto this day. These things were *new* in the British navy ; these are things hardly now to be

believed of that navy; yet they are incontestably true; and it is right that we should have them upon paper, and in print, and circulated amongst us, while so many of the actors are still alive. It would give every Englishman pleasure to see these charges denied and disproved: but, if they cannot be disproved, they ought to be known, and they ought to be remembered.

327. It was not idle talk, then, not an empty threat, which I heard from Mr. REEVES, at the door of the Treasury, which I carried to Mr. BAYARD immediately, and which he communicated to the President with all possible dispatch: "We can spread desolation along their sea-coast; we can knock or burn their towns about their ears; we can harass them and break them up and divide them." This was the threat; but the fulfilment stopped with the devastation of the coast; and we shall see, in the sequel, that, even that devastation only tended to render the triumph of freedom and America more signal; and to render the humiliation, the shame, the discomfiture, of the foes of freedom more complete.

328. But the grand stroke of devastation was yet to come. The President being seriously awakened to the danger of the expected attempts at devastation, had ordered all possible means to be made use of, in order to prevent

the enemy from getting at the city of WASHINGTON; and to defend the river CHESAPEAKE against the incursions of the enemy. A flotilla stationed there was, however, destroyed by COCHRANE and COCKBURN, who landed an army under General Ross, who having got to WASHINGTON, a place wholly defenceless, burnt the president's house, the library, the capitol, as they called the sessions house of the congress, and as many other buildings as the militia and their rifles would give them time to burn. Not long, however, did they remain upon the spot, and they even left some of their killed and wounded behind them. But, though this was in fact no victory at all; though it was merely setting fire to the scattered houses of a new and undefended town; notwithstanding that there was neither valour nor skill required in the enterprize; and that the burnings had no more merit than that which appertains to the most vulgar incendiary, it was not less a subject of bragging in England, where the city of WASHINGTON was looked upon by people in general as being to America what LONDON is to England, or what PARIS is to France; when the fact was, that it was a place consisting of about eight hundred wooden houses, scattered over an immense space, and presenting rather the place for a town, than a town itself.

329. Still the navy, the royal navy, boasted with-

out measure. They represented that now every stain had been wiped from the navy; and that republicanism was now trampled in the dust. The newspapers said: "MADISON and his government have decamped; the States are left without rulers! The ill-organized association," said the *Times* newspaper, "is on the eve of dissolution; and the world is now *delivered* of the mischievous *example of the existence of a government founded on democratic rebellion.*" Ah! this was the hope! It was to get rid of this example; to get rid of the accursed proof, that a government could exist, even in time of war, without a suspension of the act of *Habeas Corpus*; that a government, which had neither lords, nor parsons, nor pensioners, nor sinecure ladies, nor standing army, nor royal navy, could exist in time of war, without a suspension of the act of *Habeas Corpus*!

330. But, "MADISON and his ministers had fled, and the States were without rulers." Never was there a nation so cheated as the English. Our troops entered WASHINGTON on the 24th of August; they fled from it in order to save themselves, in a few hours after they set the fires; and Mr. MADISON and his ministers were again at WASHINGTON, and he issuing a proclamation there on the 1st of September, and the two Houses of Congress were all assembled at WASHINGTON, and all seated in their places,

and the President sending his usual message to the Congress on the *20th of September*; and all affairs of government were going on just as coolly and as pleasantly as if no capture of WASHINGTON had ever been heard of.

331. The government in England knew very well how to hit the taste of the people. They cried up the enterprize; their hired newspapers called it the “most *brilliant dash* of the whole war;” and the ministers even put the inglorious exploit into the Regent’s speech, which he made to the Parliament on the 8th of November; in which he told the two houses that, “the operation of his Majesty’s forces by sea and by land in the Chesapeake, have been attended with the most brilliant and successful results; the signal defeat of their land forces enabled a detachment of his Majesty’s army to take possession of the city of WASHINGTON, and the spirit of enterprize which has characterized all the movements in that quarter, has produced on the inhabitants *a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of war.*”

332. The former part of this extract is mere vulgar empty bragging; but the latter part is of some importance. The object then was, to make them feel the calamities of war, was it? This Regent exults; this royal man riding in a pony-phæton in WINDSOR PARK, and angling for minnows on VIRGINIA-WATER: this royal man,

weighing perhaps a quarter of a ton; and lifting, with both hands, clean out of the water, a fish weighing a quarter of an ounce, tells the noble lords and honourable gentlemen of England, "that the spirit of enterprize, which has characterized his navy and his troops in that quarter, has produced on the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of war!" In "that quarter!" All the movements "in that quarter" have had this effect which so much delights him. So that, as the reader will recollect, the town of HAMPTON is in that quarter, therefore this speech does, in fact, express pleasure at what took place at the town of HAMPTON, in which town the name of Englishman will be held in abhorrence for generations to come.

333. But these incursions, these mischievous proceedings, these plunderings and burnings, though they really did make on the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of war, did something else at the same time; and they did just the contrary of what was expected by the government of England. They did not break up the government, divide the States, and extinguish republican institutions. The President appealed to the people; called upon them to defend their own government, and to show to the world that they were resolved to stand by and uphold that government which they

themselves had chosen. From that city of WASHINGTON, which the English represented him as having departed for ever, he, in twenty-six days after they had set fire to his house, and then run away from it; in that very city of WASHINGTON, on the 20th of September 1814, he addressed himself to the Congress, and through the Congress to the people, in these memorable words :

“ From this view of the national affairs, Congress will be urged to take up, without delay, as well the subject of pecuniary supplies as that of military force, and on a scale commensurate with the extent and the character which the war had assumed. It is not to be disguised that the situation of our country calls for its greatest efforts. Our enemy is powerful in men and in money, on the land and on the water. Availing himself of fortuitous advantages, he is aiming, with his undivided force, a deadly blow at our growing prosperity, perhaps at our national existence. He has avowed his purpose of trampling on the usages of civilized warfare, and given earnest of it in the plunder and wanton destruction of private property. In his pride of maritime dominion, and in his thirst of commercial monopoly, he strikes with peculiar animosity at the progress of our navigation and of our manufactures. His barbarous policy has not even

“ spared those monuments of the arts and models
“ of taste with which our country had enriched
“ and embellished its infant metropolis. From
“ such an adversary, hostility, in its greatest force
“ and in its worst forms, may be looked for.
“ The American people will face it with the un-
“ daunted spirit which, in their revolutionary
“ struggle, defeated his unrighteous projects.
“ His threats and his barbarities, instead of dis-
“ may, will kindle in every bosom an indignation
“ not to be extinguished but in the disaster and
“ expulsion of such cruel invaders. In providing
“ the means necessary, the national legislature
“ will not distrust the heroic and enlightened
“ patriotism of its constituents. They will cheer-
“ fully and proudly bear every burden of every
“ kind which the safety and honour of the nation
“ demand. We have seen them everywhere
“ paying their taxes, direct and indirect, with
“ the greatest promptness and alacrity. We see
“ them rushing with enthusiasm to the scenes
“ where danger and duty call. In offering their
“ blood they give the surest pledge that no other
“ tribute will be withheld.”

334. This was the man whom the vile English press represented as having *decamped*; and this was the people on whom the Prince Regent that boasted his army and navy had made a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of war! And while these things were going on, the people

of England were as completely in ignorance with regard to them as if no such things had ever existed. They believed just the contrary of the fact. They most implicitly believed that the English arms were victorious in America, and that the Americans would finally be compelled to submit to any terms. Nay, when the news of the capture of the city of WASHINGTON arrived, there was a general belief that the States would be divided; and that a great part of them at least would again belong to the King of England. The prime minister, Lord LIVERPOOL, said in his place in Parliament, "that a considerable portion of the people of the United States *wished* " *to put themselves under the protection of his Majesty.*" The infatuation was general: you heard men talk every hour of the mode that ought to be pursued to govern the United States in future, and to keep them in subjection to England. It was said, and I believe it to have been true, that numerous applications were made to the ministry for governorships, collectorships, and other rich posts in the reconquered colonies. The reader has seen a pack of hounds, while the huntsman is filling their troughs with their food, kept off with the whip by the whipper-in; he has seen them flopping their jaws, the water running out of their mouths; and has seen them go through all the motions of devouring. In just such trim were the eager tax-devourers of Eng-

land at the moment that I am speaking of. Their hopes had been great before: from the moment that NAPOLEON was put down they began to have sanguine hopes from the recolonization; but when the news arrived of "the CAPTURE OF THE CAPITAL OF AMERICA!" it was all over: the thing was settled; and the only question was, who were the happy mortals that were to possess the power and the plunder, both of which must necessarily be enormous in magnitude?

335. Alas! that poor human nature should be subject to such crosses and disappointments! It was not "all over": it was just about to begin in good earnest. The plundering of the village of HAMPTON, and innumerable other defenceless villages and hamlets; the pillaging of detached farm-houses and country shops; the carrying away of negroes; all this series of acts, crowned by the spiteful and mere mischief-doing deeds at the city of WASHINGTON, roused the country from one end to the other. The Americans are as gentle and humane as they are brave: violence and cruelty are absolutely unknown to their nature; but these acts stirred them up to utter cries of revenge, and especially when they heard of the insolent and empty boasts upon the subject in England. The victory over them on the *Serpentine River* they despised; they treated with contempt; but these acts,

which I will not characterize, and which need not be characterized by the pen, filled them with rage, and urged them on to resolute proceedings, for the purpose of driving such an enemy from their soil and flinging him back into the sea.

336. The defenceless town of ALEXANDRIA in VIRGINIA saved itself from sacking by pecuniary sacrifices ; but the grand prize in this quarter was the great and rich commercial city of BALTIMORE, containing a population of seventy thousand persons, being the fourth city in the United States in point of commercial importance, and being an open city entirely undefended by forts or batteries. Here was a prize for COCHRANE and Ross ! Here were piles of merchandize and sacks of money. There was something more than mere desolation here ; and the exertions to obtain the prize were commensurate with its magnitude. BALTIMORE is situated at the head of tide water, on the river PATAPSCO, which empties itself into the bay of CHESAPEAKE, at about fourteen miles from the city. On the 12th of September 1814, Admiral COCHRANE made his approach with the fleet destined against BALTIMORE, consisting of nearly forty sail, and among them several ships of the line. He anchored his largest ships across the mouth of the river PATAPSCO ; and General Ross, commander-in-chief of the land forces, landed his troops at NORTH POINT, about fourteen miles from the city of

BALTIMORE by land, and about twelve by water. His force consisted of about eight thousand soldiers and marines. Sixteen bomb-vessels and frigates proceeded up the river and anchored within a short distance of Fort McHENRY, which is about two miles from the city.

337. The people of BALTIMORE hastily went to work to throw up intrenchments, in order to prepare for such defence as they should be able to make. The militia were got together in as great numbers as was practicable ; but there appeared to be no means of defence against such a force. The merchants and paper-money mongers, who have never any *country*, appear to have been for a capitulation, in imitation of ALEXANDRIA ; but the farmers all around the country, foreseeing that the mischievous works at WASHINGTON were nothing but a prelude to the sacking of BALTIMORE, kept pouring in for its defence. Some of them came more than a hundred and fifty miles from the back parts of PENNSYLVANIA, upon their own horses, without provisions, without any clothes but what they had upon their backs, with nothing but their swords and their trusty rifles, relying for every thing else upon the patriotism of the people on the road. Thus fortified, the people of the city were soon ashamed of the fear, and of the vile intentions entertained by the mercantile and paper-money crew. The invaders marched on, however,

though not without a battle here and there. Indeed they had to fight almost immediately ; and, nearly at the outset, Ross *himself was killed*. There has been a great deal said about the killing of this man. It was called "*cowardly*," because it was said that an American rifleman shot him from an ambuscade. Another account is, that he was shot by an apprentice boy ; and Mr. BRACKENRIDGE, in his history of the war, says, that this is a matter still in dispute, and so he leaves it. I have to relate upon this subject, that, being at HARRISBURGH, in PENNSYLVANIA, in the year 1818, I, with my eldest son, fell in company with a Mr. CRAY (I think the name was), who was a judge in VIRGINIA, and he told us, that Ross, with a tribe of his officers, before marching off on the morning of his death, breakfasted at a tavern at NORTH POINT ; that the tavern-keeper had two sons, mere boys ; that these boys ascertained to a certainty that Ross was the commander of the whole ; that they slipped out with their rifles, hid themselves behind a stone wall on the borders of a pine-scrub ; and that, from that position, the youngest of them shot Ross ; that they instantly buried their rifles under the leaves, or in the rubbish, and saved themselves from the bayonets of the soldiers that rushed upon the spot, by pretending that they were hunting after *tarapins* (little land tortoises), one of which one of them had got in his hand. If this be the

true story, that boy's name ought to be handed down to posterity with every mark of approbation and of honour. The command of the English army devolved on Colonel BROOK. It marched on, and the gun-vessels did what mischief they could. An attempt to land was frustrated, and the attempters driven back into the barges with disgrace and with slaughter. By this time the Americans had got force together; and the expedition ended with a bombardment upon Fort McHENRY, firing away some thousands of pounds worth of English money; and at the end of three days and nights, with a sneaking off down the river PATAPSCO, and a further sneaking off out of the CHESAPEAKE.

338. Thus ended this grand expedition, which was at once a warning and an example to the other maritime cities and towns of the United States. After this COCHRANE and COCKBURN got all their fleet together, and sailed off to try their luck upon the city of NEW ORLEANS, where there were all the temptations existing in their highest degree: great riches, approaches by water, a place unfortified, and a population consisting not only of merchants and paper-money makers, but these in considerable part being Spaniards and Frenchmen. I must, however, defer speaking of this expedition, in which we shall see that very ANDREW JACKSON, who is now (1834) endeavouring to rid his country of

the curse of paper-money, driving back the invaders covered with disgrace ; I must defer treating of this expedition until after I have taken as correct a view as my space will allow me to take, of the naval transactions of this war ; and this will be in regular order too ; for this battle was not only the last of any great importance, but it actually took place *fourteen days after the Treaty of peace was signed at GHENT !*

339. I have before observed, that to enter into the details of battles, whether by land or by sea, does not at all comport with the objects of this history, which are, to lay before the reader, whether present or future, the true causes of this war, the motives by which the parties were actuated, and the consequences to the people of England of their rulers having acted upon such motives. We have seen it most satisfactorily proved, that the objects of this war with the English government were these ; FIRST, to destroy the free institutions of America ; because, if those institutions continued to exist, it was seen that it would be utterly impossible to prevent a reform of the Parliament in England. Mr. MELISH, in his description of the United States, has the following result of a detailed comparative view of the *annual cost* of the governments of England and America respectively :

ROYALTY.

Dollars..287,533,776

REPUBLICANISM.

Dollars..16,852,222.

340. There needs no comment on this; and every one must be satisfied that such exhibitions, constantly kept before the eyes of the people of England, and being known to be substantially correct, must necessarily make the American institutions dangerous to the order of things as carried on in England. To destroy the means of making such comparisons; to put an end to the hateful fact, that government there was carried on at one *eighteenth* part of the expense of carrying on government here, was an object at the heart of every one who was interested in the upholding of this state of things in England. But, besides this object there was another, which was to destroy the *germ*, as it was called, of the American navy. This object was openly avowed. But, the parties avowing it would not perceive, though duly warned by me at the time, that they might make the matter worse; that their danger was great, if the American institutions and the American navy were left as they then were; but that their danger would be perfectly terrific, if the cheap institutions should happen to stand through a war with England single-handed; and if the navy should happen not to be destroyed. If the institutions should live throughout such a war; and if the American navy should happen to show itself anything like equal to such a contest; then the consequence must be, great and

imminent danger to the whole system then carried on in England.

341. We now know, that the institutions did outlive this formidable war; we know that the laws taken thither by the brothers of our fathers did resist that terrible attack; aye, and that too, without any of those measures resorted to in England during the late war, to stifle free discussion, or abridge the political or civil liberties of the people in any respect whatsoever; we saw them live through that war, without any suspension of the act of *Habeas Corpus*, without the accusation of any man of treason or sedition, during the whole time, without a thought of introducing foreign mercenaries to assist in the defence of the country; and with a scorn of every idea of resorting to auxiliaries and to subsidies: and, now it remains for us to see how the English government succeeded in destroying the American navy "*in the bud*."

342. I beg the reader to turn back to JOHN WILSON CROKER's manifesto, in paragraph 305; and also to the proclamation of the LONDON PRESS, in paragraph 310. I beg him to keep these constantly in his eye, while surveying the events of this *naval war*. This press spoke the voice of the government, of the aristocracy, of the clergy, of the money-mongers of England. It represented that the American navy "*must*

be annihilated;" that it must be "crushed to atoms;" that it now "stood alone;" that it might "hereafter have allies;" that we must, therefore, "*strike while the iron is hot.*" We did strike while it was hot; and now we are going to see the success with which the "*striking*" was attended.

343. The reader will remember (paragraph 317) the flippant boastings of CANNING, and his contemptuous sneer at the American navy, consisting of "six fir frigates, with bits of striped bunting flying at their mast-heads." It is very true that the republic did begin with six frigates, and these having bits of striped bunting flying at their mast-heads; but it is not true that they were made of fir, they being made of the very best wood in the world. But, *fir*, or not *fir*, we are now going to see how this American navy dealt with the mighty navy of England.

344. The first fair trial with the "bits of bunting" was with the British frigate called the GUERRIERE, which word, in English, means "warrior," or "*famous fighter*," or "*hero*." Before we come to speak of this battle, which took place on the 20th of August 1812, just two months after the Congress declared war; before we speak of this battle, it is not inapt to observe that this frigate, the *Guerrière*, was the immediate provoker of that very war. On the 1st of May 1811, she was commanded by SAMUEL

JOHN BROOK PECHELL, who, off SANDY HOOK, and in the American waters, boarded an American coaster, bound from PORTLAND to NEW YORK, and impressed out of her a native citizen of NEW YORK, a passenger on board that ship. He afterwards took other American citizens out of other ships, he being still upon the same station. The American government could endure this tyranny no longer; and, if that government had been so far overawed by the mercantile and paper-money herd as to have endured this tyranny, the people of America would have torn that government to pieces. The government sent out their frigate, called the PRESIDENT, to protect the coasts and commerce of the United States, and to demand from the GUERRIÈRE the American citizen whom she had impressed. The PRESIDENT fell in, in the night time, with the English ship LITTLE BELT, commanded by Captain BINGHAM, hailed her; and, receiving no answer, fired into her. The LITTLE BELT was of very inferior force; was greatly damaged by the PRESIDENT; and thirty-two British subjects killed and wounded was the first payment of the price of PECHELL's seizure of the American citizens as aforesaid. But this conduct of PECHELL filled the measure of provocation, so that it ran over; and it was, in fact, the immediate cause of the war, which does not prevent this SAMUEL JOHN BROOK

PECHELL from being a baronet, and being now (1834) a member of parliament for WINDSOR, and *a Lord of the Admiralty!*

345. The GUERRIÈRE had changed commanders before the 30th of August 1812; and JAMES A. DACRES had become her commander. DACRES, after the declaration of war, being cruising on the coast of America, met, on the 27th of August, an American ship, called the JOHN ADAMS, coming from LIVERPOOL. He boarded her, and indorsed, *on the register of the ship*, the following words :

“ Captain Dacres, commander of his Britannic Majesty’s
“ frigate *Guerrière*, of 44 guns, presents his compliments to
“ Commodore Rodgers, of the United States frigate *President*,
“ and will be very happy to meet him, or any other
“ American frigate of equal force to the *President*, off Sandy
“ Hook, for the purpose of having a few minutes *tête-à-tête*.”

346. The JOHN ADAMS very soon spread about intelligence of this piece of insolence. SANDY HOOK is a bay not far from the city of NEW YORK. It was not exactly there that DACRES was destined to be humbled. Sailing on to the northward, he met with the frigate CONSTITUTION, commanded by ISAAC HULL. Now then he had an opportunity of enjoying that *tête-à-tête*. Now it was that the “bits of bunting” were to be tried. It does not comport with my plan to give detailed accounts of actions, much less to give the official docu-

ments relating to them; but, as this was the first trial of the "*bits of bunting*," it would not be right to omit the American official account of it. It was never fully accounted for in England. The despatches from DACRES were smothered up, somehow or another. All manner of stories were told to keep the real truth from the people of England, who, to do them justice, have always been the willing dupes of their government, and particularly of the persons belonging to the navy. For these reasons it is necessary that I insert the official account of this memorable affair; this beginning of that series of naval battles, which, at last, were a just punishment on that nation whose acts of injustice produced this war.

United States Frigate *Constitution*, off Boston Light,
30th August 1812.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 19th instant, at 2 P. M., being in latitude 41. 42, longitude 55. 48, with the *Constitution* under my command, a sail was discovered from the mast-head bearing E. by S. or E. S. E., but at such a distance we could not tell what she was. All sail was instantly made in chase, and soon found we came up with her. At 3 P. M., could plainly see that she was a ship on the star-board tack, under easy sail, close on a wind; at half-past 3 P. M., made her out to be a frigate; continued the chase until we were within about three miles, when I ordered the light sails taken in, the courses hauled up, and the ship cleared for action. At this time the chase had backed his main top-sail, waiting for us to come down.' As soon as the *Constitution* was ready for action, I bore down with an intention to bring him to close action immediately; but on our coming within gun-shot she gave us a broadside and filled

away, and wore, giving us a broadside on the other tack, but without effect, her shot falling short. She continued wearing and manœuvring for about three quarters of an hour, to get a raking position, but finding she could not, she bore up, and run under top-sails and gib, with the wind on the quarter, Immediately made sail to bring the ship up with her, and five minutes before six P.M., being alongside within half pistol shot, we commenced a heavy fire from all our guns, double shotted with round and grape, and so well directed were they, and so warmly kept up, that in 15 minutes his mizen-mast went by the board, and his main-yard in the slings, and the hull, rigging, and sails, very much torn to pieces. The fire was kept up with equal warmth for 15 minutes longer, when his main-mast and fore-mast went, taking with them every spar, excepting the bowsprit; on seeing this we ceased firing, so that in 30 minutes after we got fairly alongside the enemy she surrendered, and had not a spar standing, and her hull below and above water so shattered, that a few more broadsides must have carried her down.

After informing you that so fine a ship as the *Guerrière*, commanded by an able and experienced officer, had been totally dismasted, and otherwise cut to pieces, so as to make her not worth towing into port, in the short space of 30 minutes, you can have no doubt of the gallantry and good conduct of the officers and ship's company I have the honour to command. It only remains, therefore, for me to assure you, that they all fought with great bravery; and it gives me great pleasure to say, that from the smallest boy in the ship to the oldest seaman not a look of fear was seen. They all went into action, giving three cheers, and requesting to be laid close alongside the enemy.

Enclosed I have the honour to send you a list of killed and wounded on board the *Constitution*, and a report of the damages she has sustained; also, a list of the killed and wounded on board the enemy, with his quarter bill, &c.

I have the honour to be, with very great respect,

Sir, your obedient servant,

ISAAC HULL.

To Paul Hamilton, &c.

Killed and wounded on board the United States frigate Constitution, Isaac Hull, Captain, in the action with his Britannic Majesty's frigate Guerrière, James A. Dacres, Captain, on the 20th of August 1812.

Killed—W. S. Bush, Lieut. of Marines, and six seamen	7
Wounded—Lieutenant C. Morris, Master J. C. Aylwin, and four seamen and one marine	7

Total killed and wounded	14
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U. S. frigate *Constitution*,
21st Aug. 1812.

ISAAC HULL, Captain.
T. I. CHEW, Purser.

Killed and wounded on board the Guerrière.

Killed—3 officers, 12 seamen and marines	15
Wounded—J. A. Dacres, Captain, 4 officers, 57 seamen and marines.....	62
Missing—Lieutenants Pullman and Roberts, and 22 sea- men and marines, supposed to have gone overboard with the masts	24

Total killed, wounded, and missing..	101
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347. There! Englishmen! If you wish to be dupes, be dupes: if it be your pleasure to give your money to, and to crouch down before, this corporation of the navy which makes you sweat to the tune of four millions and a half of pounds sterling a year; if it delight you to be thus duped; thus to pay, and thus to crouch, in God's name shut your muddled eyes, sweat, and crouch still; but I pray you be not fools to the extent of hoping and believing that you can keep these facts from the rest of mankind.

348. We shall, by-and-by, see that this was a mere specimen of the actions, generally speaking, of the whole of this war. Here was ISAAC HULL, never in a naval action in his life before, very lately a captain of a merchant-man, it is said; here were his crew, the greater part never in a naval engagement in their lives; and, good God! what a smashing was here! The CONSTITUTION had forty-four guns, and the GUERRIERE had thirty-eight; and the CONSTITUTION seems to have had a hundred and fifty men more than the GUERRIERE; but the GUERRIERE had three hundred men; and if she had had more, she could not have advantageously employed them. Still, if there had been a long battle; if there had been something like an equality of damage done to the ships, and of killed and wounded, there would have been some comfort; but here is a *smashing*; a laying on and knocking to pieces; a beating about: a "*tête-à-tête*," indeed! And, in answer to this polite invitation of this English "*gentleman of family*," comes this unmannerly YANKEE, with the old rough patriarchal name of ISAAC stuck before the monosyllable HULL, and lays on upon the polite host, abuses his intended hospitality, and repays his polite invitation with a beating, such as a merciless mastiff inflicts upon a lap-dog. How he could contrive to kill and wound, and throw overboard to be drowned, a hundred and one men, while he him-

self had only seven killed and seven wounded, puzzles one to imagine. It must have been more like a falling on upon a defenceless merchantman, than a battle with a man-of-war. The frigate **PRESIDENT**, with whom **DACRES** expressed his wish to have a *tête-à-tête*, was of superior force to the ship by which he was demolished; so that, if such was his fate with the **CONSTITUTION**, what would have been his fate with the **PRESIDENT**? In short, this was the beginning; and we shall by-and-by see, when we come to sum up the whole, that this was a fair criterion of the whole of this naval war.

349. But we must now see a little of the excuses made in England for this, as it was called, strange and unfortunate occurrence. It was thought necessary to account for it. Very much in the way of **BOBADIL** to be sure; but a man of the name of **WILLIAM JAMES**, who in all likelihood was employed and paid for the purpose, wrote a book, called "*Naval Occurrences of the late War*," which was published by **EGERTON**, at **WHITEHALL**, who is the Admiralty bookseller. This excuse-maker represented the **GUERRIERE** to have "damaged masts, and a reduced complement," and as standing in absolute need of "a thorough refit." He told this hood-winked nation, that the **GUERRIERE**'s guns "broke loose, "owing to the rotten breechings, and the rotten- "state of the timbers"; that she had "*no rope*

“left wherewith to repair the loss of breech-ings”; that her “powder was much injured by damp and long-keeping”; that her “masts were perfectly rotten”; that (almost BOBADIL’s own words) “she had been STRUCK BY LIGHTNING *some months previous to the action*”! “It was the stars!” “It was the stars!” said BOBADIL. “No!” said WHILBRED, “Indeed, captain, it was the stick!” And the English nation might have answered this excuse-maker: “No, it was not the lightning of some months before, but it was the Yankee cannon and the Yankee courage of that day.”

350. There was, however, one other excuse, which the government and the navy ought to have been ashamed to make; and the more it had been founded in *truth*, the greater ought to have been their shame. We will give it in the words of this miserable slave, JAMES. “A great many of the *Constitution’s* crew were recognised by Captain Dacres as British seamen, *principally Irishmen*. The *Guerriere’s* people found among them *several old acquaintances and shipmates*. One fellow, who, after the action, was sitting under the half-deck, *busily employed in making buck-shot cartridges to mangle his honourable countrymen, had served under the first lieutenant*. He now went by a new name; but, on seeing his old commanding officer standing before him, *a glow of shame*

“overspread his countenance. Were it possible
“that the *Constitution’s* ship’s company could,
“at this time, have been inspected by the officers
“of the British navy, generally, *how many*,
“besides the commissioned officers and the
“riflemen, would have proved to be native
“Americans?”

351. What a shame, if true; and how shameless to avow it! So then this knocking to pieces was effected by British subjects, and principally by *Irishmen*. Irishmen, probably, who did not relish the seeing of *Hanoverian* soldiers and a police in their country! So here was PADDY, after the action, very quietly making buck-shot cartridges to fire at his “countrymen”; and the “glow of shame” came on his face, did it, at seeing his old commander in captivity, subdued by himself? This JAMES did not know, apparently, that anger and resentment sometimes make men’s faces redden. However, this is all a fable; all an impudent falsehood from the beginning to the end; and a falsehood not less foolish than impudent; because, how will DACRES account for his demolition from this cause? The argument is this; that DACRES was beaten and had his ship knocked to pieces in thirty minutes, because Captain HULL had *British seamen* to fight for him. Oh! fool JAMES! Had not DACRES British seamen too? You allow that there were some Americans on board; so that Captain

HULL's crew was not, according to your own argument, so good in quality as that of D'ACRES. You allow, however, that all the "*commissioned officers*" were native Americans : this you allow ; and who does not know, that the main part, in all such cases, depends upon the commissioned officers. Nevertheless this gulled nation sucked down this falsehood, and without any hesitation adopted the argument founded upon it ; and this delusion, this shameful self-delusion, was kept up, and successfully kept up, from the beginning of the war to the end of it.

852. This is a matter of very great importance ; because it may affect us in future, if the falsehood be not dissipated. It should be known, then, to all the world, and especially to the people of England, that there was the most strict legal prohibition against the employing of foreigners of any nation, in the American ships of war. It was impossible for any commander of such ship of war to suffer the enrolment of a subject of the king of England, without risk of being dismissed from the navy. So that this was a falsehood, the most impudent that ever was believed by credulous people ; but, with a press almost universally bribed by one means or another, how was the truth to reach this people ? Reason, indeed, mere natural common sense, might have taught that people to ask, in the first place, why the British seamen went into

the American navy? What could be the cause of their doing so? Next, if they did go into it in the manner described by our writers, how came they to fight with so much more effect on board of American ships, than their brethren could fight on board the English ships? If they were British subjects, they were *traitors*, according to the laws of every country in the world, and particularly according to our laws. We took during the war, as will be seen by-and-by, upwards of two thousand men on board American ships of war; and, did anybody ever hear of one single man of them having been tried for treason? The fact was, therefore, false; but if true, so disgraceful to England, and to the English naval service in particular, that it ought to have been hidden from all the world with the utmost care; for here were British seamen fighting against British seamen, the commissioned officers on one side being Americans, and on the other side English; and we shall see, as we already have seen, these British seamen, when commanded by American officers, knocking their brethren to pieces in a twinkling, capturing them by whole squadrons, as a poacher with his net captures a covey of partridges, having less than one-third part of the pay of English officers!

353. However, the whole story is a falsehood, and is to be numbered amongst those excuses.

which were made to delude the people of England, and to reconcile them to the pecuniary demands of this cormorant naval service. It is absolutely necessary that those who mean not to be deluded any longer know these facts, and bear them in mind.

354. The defeat, or rather the knocking to pieces of the GUERRIERE, was only a foretaste of that which was to come. Another of the "fir frigates," with a bit of "striped bunting" flying at her mast-head, on the 25th of October 1812, called the UNITED STATES, commanded by Captain DECATUR, fell in with the English frigate MACEDONIAN, commanded by Captain CARDEN. The MACEDONIAN had thirty-eight guns and three hundred men; the American forty-four guns and four hundred and seventy-eight men. The action lasted more than *half an hour*, which DECATUR represents as *unusually long*. The English frigate was a new frigate, four months out of dock; and she was captured and sent into port a prize, by a man, this STEPHEN DECATUR, whom *I actually saw at plough in his father's field*, in one of the years between 1796 and 1799. DECATUR had twelve killed and wounded; CARDEN *one hundred and four*. The MACEDONIAN lost her mizen-mast, her fore and main-top-masts, and main-yard; was greatly damaged in her hull; and DECATUR says, in the conclusion of his letter to the secretary of the navy (which letter he

dated *at sea*), "the damage sustained by this ship was not such as to render our return into port necessary; and, had I not deemed it important that we should see our prize in, should have continued our cruise."

355. The next battle with the "fir frigates" was between the United States frigate *CONSTITUTION*, and the British frigate *JAVA*. Hitherto there was a pretended disparity of strength; but here was a British frigate, of forty-nine guns and upwards of four hundred men, as stated by Captain BAINBRIDGE (the American captain), in his report to the secretary of the navy, who says, "that besides her own crew, the *JAVA* had a hundred supernumerary officers and seamen, going to join British ships of war in the East Indies." The frigates fell in with one another off the coast of Brazil, on the 29th of December 1812; the battle lasted an hour and fifty-five minutes. The English captain (LAMBERT) was mortally wounded; the slaughter was prodigious, the ship knocked to pieces. Sixty killed and a hundred and seventy wounded; while the *CONSTITUTION* had nine killed and twenty-five wounded. Captain BAINBRIDGE set fire to the wreck of the English frigate, took the prisoners and their baggage to St. SALVADOR, where he landed them; and, on condition of their parole, not to serve against America until regularly exchanged, he set them at large to go home to

England, and tell their tale, where, when they arrived, they might, like Job's servants, have exclaimed, "We only are left to bring thee the sad tidings!"

356. This was too much to bear. The rage of the great thundering navy, with between five and six hundred ships of war in commission; with more *thousands* of officers than the Americans had *tens*; this was too much to bear; and a scheme was adopted for obtaining, if possible, a victory by a single frigate, over a single American frigate. A frigate called the SHANNON, prepared for the purpose at HALIFAX, in NOVA SCOTIA, manned with picked men, and furnished with every thing that could be thought of to insure a chance of success, was sent out under the command of Captain BROKE, to challenge the frigate CHESAPEAKE, which was then lying in the harbour at BOSTON, commanded by Captain LAWRENCE. The challenge was given and accepted, and the battle was fought on the 1st of June 1813. The result was, that, after fifteen minutes of fight the CHESAPEAKE was taken. But she was not taken without inflicting punishment on her foe. It was not here a knocking to pieces, without injury to the assailant. Captain LAWRENCE, who had bravely sent guns on shore, in order that superior force might not be imputed to him, was killed at nearly the beginning of the action: that might make some difference: there were other excuses

to which I attribute no weight ; but the English frigate had ninety-four killed and wounded in the action, while the Americans had one hundred and forty-five killed and wounded. A bloody battle ; but not, as in other cases, the blood all on one side : it was not a knocking to pieces : and the American commander was mortally wounded soon after the beginning of the battle : his first lieutenant experienced the same fate : so that here were circumstances quite sufficient to make the victors modest upon the occasion.

357. Never, however, was modesty known to this hectoring quarter-deck corporation, for whom the people of England pay so dearly. The newspapers were filled with details of this triumph ; this "glorious victory," as it was constantly called. "JERUSALEM delivered," did not call forth from the pen of TASSO more lofty strains of exultation, as far as the meagre talents of English hirelings would enable them to go. If MILTON had been alive, he might have written another bombastical poem, entitled "*The Navy regained.*" HOMER would have been insufficient with his ACHILLES story, to describe the deeds of BROKE. It seemed as if an eighth wonder of the world had been discovered ; or as if a second ALFRED had come, and again driven out the Danes : the achievement of GUY of WARWICK became a mere nothing, and people wondered

why the historians had thought it worth while to record it. Songs were written by the hireling poets; these were sung at the play-houses, where the tawdry and mercenary creatures exhibited the wonderful exploit of BROKE. But we must, to do justice, bring all this home to the government, who testified their joy in all manner of ways; and, as if a province or a country had been conquered by him, he had the formal thanks of the Board of Admiralty, and was created a BARONET by the king!

358. Now, even more than the miserable excuses in the case of the defeats, the unbounded exultation at this victory, not only proves the inferiority of the British navy to that of America, man for man and gun for gun, but it proves that the English government *knew it*. Great hopes were entertained that this would be a turning of the tide. JAMES, in his naval history of the war, exclaims, "Thus was the SPELL broken"! Still in the style of BOBADIL, who, after the stick had rattled upon his back, while he had the sword hanging by his side, being asked why he did not draw, exclaimed, "I was certainly *spell-bound*." The hireling JAMES insinuates, that until now the British navy had been *spell-bound*, and is lost in delight that the spell was now broken!

359. Alas! it "*pieced*" again, as the Lancashire people call it: for the beating, the capturing, and the knocking to pieces, went on after

this more furiously than ever. The "*fir frigate*" the **Essex**, Commodore **PORTER**, was taken by a squadron. Another "*fir frigate*," the **PRESIDENT**, was taken by another squadron; but the "*fir-frigate*," **CONSTITUTION** took two ships of war, and took them home prizes from **MADEIRA** to **BOSTON**, uninolested by our navy, which absolutely covered the seas; and at one time, in the course of her voyage home, sailed by three large English frigates of the first class, who suffered them to pass uninterrupted. This "*fir frigate*" was the **CONSTITUTION**, commanded then by Captain **CHARLES STEWART**. One of these ships, though rated at twenty, mounted thirty-four guns; the other, twenty-six guns. They had been, it seems, in pursuit of the **CONSTITUTION**. One of these ships was commanded by Captain **GORDON THOMAS FALCON**, and the other by the *Honourable* **GEORGE DOUGLAS**. They were beaten and captured in forty minutes, with 35 killed, 42 wounded, and surrendering 313 prisoners, while the Americans had three killed and twelve wounded.

360. While things were going on thus on the ocean, they were going on still worse on the lakes. In the index to the American official accounts you have these heads: "**Commodore** "**CHAUNCEY** attempts to bring Sir **JAMES YEO** "**to action.**" "**Commodore** **CHAUNCEY** chases Sir **JAMES** round the lake." "**Commodore**

“CHAUNCEY chases Sir JAMES, and captures five “vessels !” One would really think that it was a book on hare-hunting, or badger-hunting. But, my readers will recollect, that the eighth wonder of the world, Baronet BROCK, gained his glorious victory on the 1st of June, 1813; and then the hireling historian tells us, *the spell was broken*. On the 10th of September of that same year, Commodore PERRY attacked Commodore BARCLAY, on Lake ERIE, captured the whole of his vessels, six in number, carrying sixty-three guns; he himself having only two twenty-gun ships, besides small vessels, neither carrying above four guns, and having fifty-four guns in the whole. The English had a hundred men more than the Americans. The exact number of the killed and wounded, on our side, is not stated in the American account; but the loss amongst the officers was very great, and the loss amongst the men must have been, in all probability, in proportion. So that the breaking of the *spell* does not appear to have extended to Lake ERIE, at any rate.

361. The next year appears not to have been more favourable in sustaining the idea of a breaking of the “*spell* ;” for, on the 11th of September, of that year, Commodore MAC DONOUGH captured another squadron on Lake CHAMPLAIN, consisting of one frigate, one brig, two sloops of war, besides smaller vessels. Our squadron was commanded by Captain DOWNIE. The Ameri-

can dispatch says, that we had ninety-five guns, they eighty-six; we a thousand and fifty men, they eight hundred and twenty; we eighty-four killed, and one hundred and ten wounded; they fifty-two killed and fifty-eight wounded. Thus were we swept from the Lakes, after having been hunted about like wild-ducks or dab-chicks, except that not having the powers of these latter, we could not dive under the water, and, in that way elude the implacable enemy. But, the great thing of all was, the endless proofs that were given to the world of the undaunted courage of the Americans; and of their readiness, at all times, to perish rather than yield. Small vessels, large vessels, ships of war, privateers, armed merchant-men; all were equally daring and equally desperate in fight. It would require a large volume, or, rather, ten large volumes, to record the instances of the desperate fighting of the smaller ships; and of the disregard of life; the complete and unquestionable disregard of life, when put in competition with yielding to any thing bearing the name of British. Perhaps the instance of the GENERAL ARMSTRONG privateer, in the port of FAYAL, of the desperate valour of whose captain and crew I am now about to give the official account; perhaps this may be deemed a *rare* instance. It may have been so; but only because the circumstances were rare: under similar circumstances, every collection of

American seamen would have acted in the same manner.

362. This transaction is worthy of very particular attention; because it affords us a complete specimen of the conduct of the British navy, not only with regard to those with whom we were at war; but with regard to those with whom we were at peace. It shows, that, wherever this navy had power, there was no law of nations, and no rule of action, but its absolute will.

363. A privateer, called the GENERAL ARMSTRONG, an armed brig, commanded by SAMUEL C. REID, having sailed from NEW YORK early in September 1814, put into FAYAL, a little seaport in the island of the same name, which is one of the AZORES, for the purpose of taking in water. Being in this neutral port, the transactions took place which are recorded in the following letter from the captain, which is published in the collection of official letters and dispatches relative to the war, published at the city of WASHINGTON, since the termination of that war. I beseech the reader to attend to every part of this dispatch; to recollect that the affair took place a year and a quarter after the "*breaking of the spell*;" and to cease to wonder, that, as the hired historian JAMES tells us, the British Admiralty issued an order, "*that the English eighteen pounder frigates were not to seek an engagement with the American forty-four-gun*

“*frigates* ;” though they were made of “*fir*,” and had nothing but “bits of striped bunting” to fly at their masts’ heads !

Fayal, October 4th, 1814.

SIR,—With infinite regret I am constrained to say, it has eventually fallen to my lot to state to you the loss and destruction of the private armed brig *General Armstrong*, late under my command.

We sailed from Sandy Hook on the evening of the 9th ultimo, and about midnight fell in chase, aboard of a razee and ship of the line. They pursued till next day noon, when they thought proper to give over the chase. On the 11th, after a nine hours’ chase, boarded the private armed schooner *Perry*, John Colman, six days from Philadelphia, had thrown over all his guns. On the following day fell in with an enemy’s gun-brig ; exchanged a few shots with and left him. On the 24th, boarded a Spanish brig and schooner, and a Portuguese ship, all from the Havannah. On the 26th following, came to in Fayal Roads, for the purpose of filling water ; called on the American consul who very politely ordered our water immediately sent off, it being our intention to proceed to sea early the next day. At 5 P. M. I went on board, the consul and some other gentlemen in company. I asked some questions concerning enemy’s cruisers, and was told there had been none at these islands for several weeks ; when about dusk, while we were examining, the British brig *Carnation* suddenly hove in sight close under the north-east head of the harbour, within gun-shot when first discovered. The idea of getting under-weigh was instantly suggested ; but finding the enemy’s brig had the advantage of a breeze, and but little wind with us, it was thought doubtful if we should be able to get to sea without hazarding an action. I questioned the consul to know if in his opinion the enemy would regard the neutrality of the port. He gave me to understand I might make myself perfectly easy, assuring me at the same time, they would never molest us while at anchor. But no sooner did the enemy’s brig understand from the pilot-boat who we were, than she immediately hauled close in and let go her anchor within pistol shot of us : at the same moment

the *Plantagenet*, and frigate *Rota*, hove in sight, to whom the *Carnation* instantly made signal, and a constant interchange took place for some time.

The result was, the *Carnation* proceeded to throw out all her boats; despatched on board the commodore, and appeared otherwise to be making unusual exertions. The moon was near its full, which enabled us to observe them very minutely; and I now determined to haul in nearer the shore. Accordingly, after clearing for action, we got under-weigh, and began to sweep in. The moment this was observed by the enemy's brig, she instantly cut her cable, made sail, and despatched four boats in pursuit of us. Being now about eight P.M., as soon as we saw the boats approaching, we let go our anchor, got springs on our cable, and prepared to receive them. I hailed them repeatedly as they drew near, but they felt no inclination to reply. Sure of their game, they only pulled up with the greater speed. I observed the boats were all manned, and apparently as well armed; and as soon as they had cleverly got alongside, we opened our fire, which was soon returned; but meeting with rather a warmer reception than they had probably been aware of, they very soon cried out for quarters and hauled off. In this skirmish I had one man killed and my first-lieutenant wounded. The enemy's loss must have been upwards of twenty killed and wounded.

They had now repaired to their ships to prepare for a more formidable attack. We, in the interim, having taken the hint, prepared to haul close into the beach, where we moored head and stern, within half pistol shot of the castle. This done, we again prepared in the best possible manner for their second reception. At nine P.M. we observed the enemy's brig towing in a fleet of boats. They soon after left the brig and took their station in three divisions, under cover of a small reef of rocks, within about musket shot of us. Here they continued manœuvring for some time, the brig still keeping under-weigh to act with the boats, should we at any time attempt our escape.

The shores were lined with the inhabitants, waiting the expected attack; from the brightness of the moon they had a most favourable view of the scene. The governor, with most

of the first people of the place, stood by and saw the whole affair.

At length, about midnight, we saw the boats in motion (our crew having laid at their quarters during the whole of this interval). They came on in one direct line, keeping in close order; and we plainly counted twelve boats. As soon as they came within proper distance we opened our fire, which was warmly returned from the enemy's carronades and small arms. The discharge from our Long Tom rather staggered them; but soon reconnoitring, they gave three cheers, and came on most spiritedly; in a moment they succeeded in gaining our bow and starboard quarter, and the word was *board*. Our great guns now becoming useless, we attacked them sword in hand, together with our pikes, pistols, and musketry, from which our lads poured on them a most destructive fire. The enemy made frequent and repeated attempts to gain our decks, but were repulsed at all times, and at all points, with the greatest slaughter. About the middle of the action I received the intelligence of the death of my second lieutenant; and soon after of the third lieutenant being badly wounded. From this, and other causes, I found our fire had much slackened on the forecastle, and fearful of the event I instantly rallied the whole of our after division, who had been bravely defending, and now had succeeded in beating the boats off the quarters. They gave a shout, rushed forward, opened a fresh fire, and soon after decided the conflict, which terminated in the total defeat of the enemy, and the loss of many of their boats; two of which, belonging to the *Rota*, we took possession of, literally loaded with their own dead. Seventeen only escaped from them both, who swam to the shore. In another boat under our quarter, commanded by one of the lieutenants of the *Plantagenet*, all were killed, saving four. This I have from the lieutenant himself, who further told me that he jumped overboard to save his own life.

The duration of this action was about forty minutes. Our decks were now found in much confusion, our Long Tom dismounted, and several of our carriages broken; many of our crew having left the vessel, and others disabled. Under these circumstances, however, we succeeded in getting Long Tom

in his birth, and the decks cleared in short for a fresh action, should the enemy attack us again before day-light. About 3 A. M. I received a message from the American consul, requesting to see me on shore, where he informed me the governor had sent a note to captain Lloyd, begging him to desist from further hostilities. To which captain Lloyd sent for answer, that he was determined to have the privateer at the risk of knocking down the whole town; and that if the governor suffered the Americans to injure the privateer in any manner, he should consider the place an enemy's port, and treat it accordingly. Finding this to be the case, I considered all hopes of saving our vessel to be at an end. I therefore went on board, and ordered all our wounded and dead to be taken on shore, and the crew to save their effects as fast as possible. Soon after this it became day-light, when the enemy's brig stood close in, and commenced a heavy fire on us with all her force. After several broadsides she hauled off, having received a shot in her hull, her rigging much cut, and her fore-top mast wounded (of this I was informed by the British consul). She soon after came in again, and anchored close to the privateer. I then ordered the *Armstrong* to be scuttled, to prevent the enemy from getting her off. She was soon after boarded by the enemy's boats, and set on fire, which soon completed her destruction.

They have destroyed a number of houses in the town, and wounded some of the inhabitants.

By what I have been able to learn from the British consul and officers of the fleet, it appears there were about 400 officers and men in the last attack by the boats, of which 120 were killed and about 130 wounded. Captain Lloyd, I am told by the British consul, is badly wounded in the leg; a jury of surgeons had been held, who gave it as their opinion, that amputation would be necessary to ensure his life. 'Tis said, however, that the wound was occasioned by an *ox treading on him*. The fleet has remained here about a week, during which they have been principally employed in burying their dead, and taking care of their wounded.

Three days after the action they were joined by the ship *Thais* and brig *Catypso* (two sloops of war); they were immediately taken into requisition by Captain Lloyd, to take home the wounded men. The *Catypso* sailed for England with part

of the wounded on the 2nd instant, among whom was the first lieutenant of the *Plantagenet*. The *Thais* sails this evening with the remainder. Captain Lloyd's fleet sailed to-day, supposed for the West Indies.

The loss on our part, I am happy to say, is comparatively trifling, two killed and seven wounded. With regard to my officers in general, I feel the greatest satisfaction in saying they, one and all, fought with the most determined bravery, and to whom I feel highly indebted for their officer-like conduct during the short period we were together; their exertions and bravery deserved a better fate.

I here insert, for your inspection, a list of the killed and wounded.

KILLED.—M. Alexander, O. Williams, second lieutenant, by a musket ball in the forehead, died instantly; Burton Lloyd, seaman, ditto, through the heart, ditto.

WOUNDED.—Frederick A. Worth, first lieutenant, in the right side; Robert Johnson, 3rd ditto, left knee; Razilla Hammond, quarter-master, left arm; John Piner, seaman, knee; Wm. Castle, ditto, arm; Nicholas Scalson, ditto, arm and leg; John Harrison, ditto, hand and face, by the explosion of a gun.

364. This, were not the fact so well attested, would appear to be mere romance. It is, however, literally true; and before such men, when anything approaching to equal force, this swaggering navy of ours could not stand. I beg the reader to take a look back at paragraph 281, and there see the account of the naval fight in *Hyde Park, LONDON*; let him there see the glorious victory gained over the Americans; see the poor souls lower their flags, and see the grand British flags flying over them; and when he has contemplated that, when he has read paragraph 281, let him then look at the following summary of this naval war.

It might be sufficient to state the following facts: 1. That the number of British ships and vessels of war in commission, during this war, was five hundred and thirty-four, of which seventy-two were ships of the line; 2. That there were seventy-five thousand British sailors afloat in these ships; 3. That the Americans had thirty ships and vessels of war, and not one of the line; 4. That the Americans had eight thousand seamen; 5. That the British fleet took from the Americans seventeen American public ships and vessels of war, with three hundred and four guns, and two thousand five hundred and fifty-one men; 6. That the Americans took from the British twenty-nine public ships and vessels of war, with five hundred and six guns, and three thousand seven hundred and twenty-one men. This might suffice; but it is necessary, in this case, to give a list of the ships taken, on each side respectively, and of the number of guns and men. Who were the commanders is matter of little consequence. It is the general view; it is the result, it is the end, that we want to have a sight of; and that we want to have safely upon record. The following, therefore, is a list of the ships captured on both sides; and an account of the guns and the men on board such ships.

American Ships of War captured by the British.

SHIPS' NAMES.	Guns.	Men.
James Madison	14	100
Wasp	18	160
Nautilus	16	180
Chesapeake	38	376
Vixen	14	130
Viper	12	75
Argus	20	125
Arab	7	45
Lynx	6	40
Racer	6	36
Dolphin	12	98
Essex	36	260
Frolic	20	171
Anaconda	18	150
Asp	3	30
Rattlesnake	20	160
President	44	465
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	304	2551
	<hr/>	<hr/>

British Ships of War taken by the Americans.

SHIPS' NAMES.	Guns.	Men.
Alert	16	96
Guerrier	38	300
Java	38	300
Picto	16	96
Levant	20	175
Cyane	20	175
Frolic	18	120
Reindeer	18	120
Avon	18	120
Macedonian	38	300
Peacock	18	120

Penguin	18	120
Dominica	10	75
Boxer	14	75
Highflyer	8	45
Decoy	10	65
Epervier	18	120
Ballabou	8	45
Landrail	4	20
St. Lawrence	16	95
Detroit	22	} 600
Queen Charlotte	18	
Lady Provost	14	
Hunter	10	
Little Belt	3	
Confiance	37	270
Linnet	18	120
Finch	10	75
Chubb	10	75
	506	3721

365. Such a beating surely never was inflicted on human carcases before. But, it is not the beating; it is not the mere fame of fighting that we ought to dwell upon, in this case: it is the triumph of freedom: it is the circumstance, that, if this English government could have crushed that of the United States, civil and political liberty would have been killed for ages. The despots of Europe thought that they had done it; and they had done it completely, except that they had not destroyed liberty in the United States of America. This is the view that we are to take of the matter; and for this good

and solid and virtuous cause it is, that every sensible Englishman exults at the results of this naval war. He does not see his country disgraced : he sees disgrace on those who would have beaten the Americans for ultimate purposes that he too clearly perceives.

366. I must not conclude my account of this American war without doing justice, or attempting to do something like justice, to those brave and devoted citizens who defended their country by land. It was in America that the real fighting was : "*The heroes of the Peninsula*," "*The heroes of Waterloo*," made a grand show, a great noise, splendid illuminations ; but, when they came to fight with men who were really and truly *fighting for their country*, they had blood to shed, for money was of no use. At a place called CHIPPEWA, there being about four thousand troops on each side, General RIALI commanding on our side, and General BROWN on the side of the Americans, there were killed and wounded, on the side of the Americans, three hundred and thirty-eight, and on our side five hundred and five, and between the two about six hundred men killed upon the spot, or died of their wounds. We lost seven captains, seventeen subalterns, two colonels, and many others. This was greater slaughter than at the far greater part of the battles of WELLINGTON with forty or fifty thousand men under his command. This

was real fighting. The English newspapers cried aloud after this, for "*WELLINGTON to go and finish the war at once.*" WELLINGTON knew better! He thought it much pleasanter, as well as safer, to remain at Paris, or in LONDON. He thought, I dare say, that, having fought such fine battles upon the Continent, it was beneath him to dirty his hands with republicans.

367. The battle of SANDUSKY deserves particular notice. SANDUSKY is a fort on the borders of Lake ERIE. The British wanted very much to take this fort. Major CROGHAN, an American youth of twenty-one years of age, marched to the protection of, and threw himself into, this post, with some KENTUCKY volunteers; but had no time to prepare any other means of defence than a ditch six feet wide, outside of the pickets. He had but one six-pounder and about a hundred and sixty men. General HARRISON, not thinking it possible to defend the place against the force of General PROCTOR, who was coming against the fort, with five hundred regulars, seven hundred Indians, cannon, and some gun-boats, ordered Major CROGHAN to retire on the approach of the enemy. This order the gallant young man determined to disobey. PROCTOR, having made such a disposition of his troops as to cut off the retreat of the garrison, sent a flag by Colonel ELLIOT and Major CHAMBERS, ac-

accompanied with a terrible threat of putting all to the sword, if the garrison dared to hold out. CROGHAN, finding his companions (all striplings like himself) would stand by him to the last, sent an answer of utter defiance. The result I give in the words of Mr. BRACKENRIDGE, and his account is perfectly corroborated in every part by the official dispatch of General HARRISON, which will be found at p. 181 in the American official letters relating to the late war.

When the flag returned, a brisk fire was opened from the gun-boats and a howitzer, and which was kept up during the night. In the morning they opened with three sixes, which had been planted, under cover of the night, within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets, but not with much effect. About four o'clock in the afternoon, it was discovered that the enemy had concentrated his fire against the north-west angle, with the intention of making a breach. This part was immediately strengthened by the apposition of bags of flour and mud, so that the pickets suffered but little injury. During this time, the six-pounder was carefully concealed in the bastion which covered the point to be assailed, and it was loaded with shugs and grape. About five hundred of the enemy now advanced in close column to assail the part where it was supposed the pickets must have been injured; at the same time making several feints, to draw the attention of the besieged to other parts of the fort. Their force being thus divided, a column of three hundred and fifty men, which were so enveloped in smoke as not to be seen until they approached within twenty paces of the lines, advanced rapidly to the assault. A fire of musketry from the fort for a moment threw them into confusion, but were quickly rallied by Colonel Short, their commander, who now springing over the outer works into the ditch, commanded the rest to follow, crying out, "Give the d—d Yankees no quarter!" Scarcely had these words escaped his lips, and the greater part of his followers landed in

the ditch, when the six-pounder opened upon them a most destructive fire, killing and wounding the greater part, and amongst the first the leader, who was sent into eternity before his words had died upon the air. A volley of musketry was, at the same time, fired upon those who had not ventured. The officer who succeeded Short, exasperated at being thus treated by a few boys, formed his broken column, and again rushed to the ditch, where he, and those who dared to follow him, met with the same fate as their fellow soldiers. The small-arms were again played on them, the whole British Force was thrown into confusion, and in spite of the exertions of their officers, fled to the woods, almost panic-struck, whither they were soon followed by their Indians. Thus were these men, confident of success, and detestable in the intended use of victory, most signally chastised, under Providence, by a force scarce a tenth of their numbers. Terror indescribable took possession of the assailants, and they retreated towards their boats, scarcely daring to cast their eyes towards the fatal spot, while they were followed by their savage allies in sullen silence.

368. If we did not find this confirmed to the very letter in the official dispatches, published by the American government, we could not believe it; and so long have the English public been duped by a corrupt press, that they will hardly believe it even now. It is nevertheless true, and a glorious truth it is. This is no subject of sorrow to Englishmen, but the contrary; for, had not bravery like this been found in the people of America, the people of England would have been the most wretched of slaves for probably ages to come.

369. Lastly, we must not pass over the great and decisive battle of NEW ORLEANS. We shall see presently, when we come to insert the Treaty

of Peace, that that treaty was signed on the 24th of December, 1814. Happy would it have been for the character of England, and of the English army and navy, if it had been signed a little sooner; for the battle of NEW ORLEANS was fought on the 8th of January, 1815, under the command, on the part of the Americans, of that famous man, who is now (1834) President of the United States, in the fifth year of that presidency; the highest honour that his country had to bestow, but the highest honour that any man in this whole world can possess, being freely chosen the guardian of the rights and liberties of a great nation of freemen.

370. It has been recorded, in paragraph 338, that, after COCHRANE and COCKBURN had been repulsed at BALTIMORE, and hunted down the CHESAPEAKE, they got all their numerous and powerful fleet together, and sailed off to try their luck at the city of NEW ORLEANS, which is near to the mouths of the great river MISSISSIPPI. Here, as was there observed, there were all the temptations existing in their highest degree: great riches, approaches by water, a place unfortified, and a population consisting, not only of merchants and paper-money makers, but these, in considerable part, being Spaniards and Frenchmen. Here, in addition to all the other temptations, there was the facility (rare in America) of obtaining *spies* in abundance; and that these

were obtained, will presently most fully appear. But the President had prudently chosen a commander, who was more than a match for all dangers ; for all difficulties ; for all perils, whether arising from force or from fraud. This commander, however, had a mere handful of men who had ever borne the name of soldiers ; but the brave people of the States of KENTUCKY and TENNESSEE hastened down to his support, though some of them from a distance of five hundred miles, getting along as they could upon the land, upon the water, or upon the ice ; hundreds of them arriving at NEW ORLEANS without shoes upon their feet, and some of those feet frost-bitten. Besides this, the General had really a disaffected and mutinous population to deal with ; but he put the city under martial law, and, in spite of the legal subterfuges and false pretences which were urged, determined to defend his country against the invaders, or to perish on the spot.

371. Divers skirmishes and inferior battles took place, previous to the 8th of January. COCHRANE had gun-boats of all sizes ; and every means of making sure of success. The American general formed a species of parapet for the defence of the city itself, consisting of bales of cotton, barrels of sugar, flour, or other merchandise ; and threw up as deep and wide a ditch as time would permit him. In all his battles previous to the attack on the city itself, he did great execu-

tion upon the enemy; and on the 23rd of December he killed, wounded, and took prisoners, four hundred of their men, including officers; but it was on the 8th of January that the grand slaughter took place. His dispatch to the Secretary at War, giving an account of this battle, must not be omitted.

Camp, four miles below New Orleans,
January 9th, 1815.

Sir, — During the days of the 6th and 7th, the enemy had been actively employed in making preparations for an attack on my lines. With infinite labour they had succeeded on the night of the 7th, in getting their boats across from the lake to the river, by widening and deepening the canal on which they had effected their disembarkation. It had not been in my power to impede these operations by a general attack; added to other reasons, the nature of the troops under my command, mostly militia, rendered it too hazardous to attempt extensive *offensive* movements in an open country, against a numerous and well-disciplined army. Although my forces, as to number, had been increased by the arrival of the Kentucky division, my strength had received very little addition; a small portion only of that detachment being provided with arms. Compelled thus to wait the attack of the enemy, I took every measure to repel it when it should be made, and to defeat the object he had in view. General Morgan, with the New Orleans Contingent, the Louisiana Militia, and a strong detachment of the Kentucky troops, occupied an entrenched camp on the opposite side of the river, protected by strong batteries on the bank, erected and superintended by Commodore Patterson.

In my encampment every thing was ready for action, when, early in the morning of the 8th, the enemy, after throwing a heavy shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, advanced their columns on my right and left, to storm my entrenchments. I cannot speak sufficiently in praise of the firmness and deliberation with which my whole line received their approach—

more could not have been expected from veterans inured to war. For an hour the fire of the small-arms was as incessant and severe as can be imagined. The artillery, too, directed by officers who displayed equal skill and courage, did great execution. Yet the columns of the enemy continued to advance with a firmness which reflects upon them the greatest credit. Twice the column which approached me on my left was repulsed by the troops of General Carroll, those of General Coffee, and a division of the Kentucky Militia, and twice they formed again and renewed the assault. At length, however, cut to pieces, they fled in confusion from the field, leaving it covered with their dead and wounded. The loss which the enemy sustained on this occasion cannot be estimated at less than 1500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Upwards of 300 have already been delivered over for burial; and my men are still engaged in picking them up within my lines and carrying them to the point where the enemy are to receive them. This is in addition to the dead and wounded whom the enemy have been enabled to carry from the field, during and since the action, and to those who have since died of the wounds they received. We have taken about 500 prisoners, upwards of 300 of whom are wounded, and a great part of them mortally. My loss has not exceeded, and I believe has not amounted to, ten killed and as many wounded. The entire destruction of the enemy's army was now inevitable, had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence which at this moment took place on the other side of the river. Simultaneously with his advance upon my lines, he had thrown over in his boats a considerable force to the other side of the river. These having landed, were hardy enough to advance against the works of General Morgan; and what is strange and difficult to account for, at the very moment when their entire discomfiture was looked for with a confidence approaching to certainty, the Kentucky reinforcements ingloriously fled, drawing after them, by their example, the remainder of the forces; and thus yielding to the enemy that most fortunate position. The batteries which had rendered me for many days the most important service, though bravely defended, were of course now abandoned; not, however, until the guns had been spiked.

This unfortunate rout had totally changed the aspect of affairs. The enemy now occupied a position from which they might annoy us without hazard, and by means of which they might have been enabled to defeat, in a great measure, the effect of our success on this side the river. It became, therefore, an object of the first consequence to dislodge him as soon as possible. For this object, all the means in my power, which I could with any safety use, were immediately put in preparation. Perhaps, however, it was somewhat owing to another cause that I succeeded beyond my expectations. In negotiating the terms of a temporary suspension of hostilities to enable the enemy to bury their dead and provide for the wounded, I had required certain propositions to be acceded to as a basis; among which this was one; that although hostilities should cease on *this* side the river until 12 o'clock of this day, yet it was not to be understood that they should cease on the *other* side; but that no reinforcements should be sent across by *either* army until the expiration of that day. His Excellency Major General Lambert begged time to consider of those propositions until 10 o'clock of to-day, and in the mean time re-crossed his troops. I need not tell you with how much eagerness I immediately regained possession of the position he had thus hastily quitted.

The enemy having concentrated his forces, may again attempt to drive me from my position by storm. Whenever he *does*, I have no doubt my men will act with their usual firmness, and sustain a character now become dear to them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Hon. Secretary of War.

ANDREW JACKSON.

372. From his dispatch of the 13th of January, it appears, that the loss of the British on that day was *two thousand six hundred men*, nearly one half of whom were left dead on the plain; while his loss was only "*seven killed and six wounded*!"

373. These things would be incredible, were

they not ascertained to be true beyond all possibility of doubt. By the latter end of January, he had driven all the invaders back into the sea; and he then dismissed his brave countrymen, to return home to their farms and their families, and to carry with them, to use his own words, "the recollection of their exertions, and of the success which had resulted, as a reward more grateful than any which the pomp of title or the splendour of wealth could bestow." "The man," said he, "who slumbered ingloriously at home will envy you the happiness which these recollections will afford; still more will he envy you the gratitude of a country of freemen, whose freedom you have so eminently contributed to save!"

374. And no talk of half-pay; no talk of retired allowances; no talk of compensation for wounds; no talk of a provision for widows and children; no talk of saddling the people with a DEBT to be paid by the children unborn! Thus it is that a country is defended, thus it is that a nation of freemen is distinguished from a nation of slaves!

375. This was the last battle of the war, and a very appropriate finish it was; but it was a finish of which the people of England never heard a word. There was something said about it in the *London Gazette*; but said in a way to attract no attention; and the infamous London daily newspapers took special care to communicate no

information upon the subject. We now come to that treaty, by which this disastrous and bloody war was put an end to ; and when I have inserted that treaty, nothing will remain, but the performance of a most sacred duty ; namely, recording the conduct of the two nations ; the moral conduct of the two nations, during this war ; and, particularly, their conduct, respectively, with regard to prisoners of war.

Treaty of Peace and Amity between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America.

His Britannic Majesty, and the United states of America, desirous of terminating the war which has unhappily subsisted between the two countries, and of restoring, upon principles of perfect reciprocity, peace, friendship, and good understanding, between them, have, for that purpose, appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, that is to say : His Britannic Majesty, on his part, has appointed the Right Honourable James Lord Gambier, late admiral of the white, now admiral of the red squadron of his Majesty's fleet, Henry Goulburn, esquire, a member of the Imperial Parliament, and under secretary of state, and William Adams, esquire, doctor of civil laws : And the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate thereof, has appointed John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russel, and Albert Gallatin, citizens of the United States, who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles :

ART. 1. There shall be a firm and universal peace between his Britannic Majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people of every degree, without exception of places or persons. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease as soon as this treaty shall have been ratified by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned. All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other, during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty,

excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property. And all archives, records, deeds, and papers, either of a public nature, or belonging to private persons, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of the officers of either party, shall be, as far as may be practicable forthwith restored and delivered to the proper authorities and persons to whom they respectively belong. Such of the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy as are claimed by both parties, shall remain in the possession of the party in whose occupation they may be at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, until the decision respecting the title to the said islands shall have been made in conformity with the fourth article of this treaty. No disposition made by this treaty, as to such possession of the islands and territories claimed by both parties, shall, in any manner whatever, be construed to affect the right of either.

ART. 2. Immediately after the ratifications of this treaty by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned, orders shall be sent to the armies, squadrons, officers, subjects, and citizens, of the two powers, to cease from all hostilities; and, to prevent all causes of complaint which might arise on account of the prizes which may be taken at sea after the said ratifications of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed, that all vessels and effects which may be taken after the space of twelve days from the said ratifications, upon all parts of the coast of North America, from the latitude of twenty-three degrees north, to the latitude of fifty degrees north, and as far eastward in the Atlantic Ocean as the thirty-sixth degree of west longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, shall be restored on each side: That the time shall be thirty days in all other parts of the Atlantic Ocean, north of the equinoctial line or equator, and the same time for the British and Irish channels, for the Gulf of Mexico, and all parts of the West Indies; forty days for the North Seas, for the Baltic, and for all parts of the Mediterranean; sixty days for the Atlantic Ocean south of the equator, as far as the latitude

of the Cape of Good Hope ; ninety days for every other part of the world south of the equator ; and one hundred and twenty days for all other parts of the world, without exception.

ART. 3. All prisoners of war taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the ratifications of this treaty, as hereinafter mentioned, on their paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity. The two contracting parties respectively engage to discharge, in specie, the advances which may have been made by the other for the sustenance and maintenance of such prisoners.

ART. 4. Whereas it was stipulated by the second article in the treaty of peace, of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, that the boundary of the United States should comprehend all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of Nova Scotia ; and whereas the several islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the Bay of Fundy, and the island of Grand Menan, in the said Bay of Fundy, are claimed by the United States, as being comprehended within their aforesaid boundaries, which said islands are claimed as belonging to his Britannic Majesty, as having been at the time of, and previous to, the aforesaid treaty of 1783, within the limits of the province of Nova Scotia ; in order, therefore, finally to decide upon these claims, it is agreed that they shall be referred to two commissioners to be appointed in the following manner, viz. one commissioner shall be appointed by his Britannic Majesty, and one by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate thereof, and the said two commissioners so appointed shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide upon the said claims, according to such evidence as shall be laid before them on the part of his Britannic Majesty and of the United States respectively. The said

commissioners shall meet at St. Andrews, in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall, by a declaration or report, under their hands and seals, decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands aforesaid do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace of 1783. And if the said commissioners shall agree in their decision, both parties shall consider such decision as final and conclusive. It is further agreed, that in the event of the two commissioners differing upon all or any of the matters so referred to them, or in the event of both or either of the said commissioners refusing, or declining, or wilfully omitting, to act as such, they shall make, jointly or separately, a report or reports, as well to the government of his Britannic Majesty as to that of the United States, stating, in detail, the points on which they differ, and the grounds upon which their respective opinions have been formed, or the grounds upon which they, or either of them, have so refused, declined, or omitted to act. And his Britannic Majesty, and the government of the United States, hereby agree to refer the report or reports of the said commissioners, to some friendly sovereign or state, to be then named for that purpose, and who shall be requested to decide on the differences which may be stated in the said report or reports, or upon the report of one commissioner, together with the grounds upon which the other commissioner shall have refused, declined, or omitted to act, as the case may be. And if the commissioner so refusing, declining, or omitting to act, shall also wilfully omit to state the grounds upon which he has so done, in such manner that the said statement may be referred to such friendly sovereign or state, together with the report of such other commissioner, then such sovereign or state shall decide, *ex parte*, upon the said report alone. And his Britannic Majesty and the government of the United States engage to consider the decision of such friendly sovereign or state to be final and conclusive on all the matters so referred to.

ART. 5. Whereas neither that point of the islands lying due north from the source of the river St. Croix, and designated, in the former treaty of peace between the two powers

as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, nor the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, has yet been ascertained; and, whereas that part of the boundary line between the dominions of the two powers which extends from the source of the river St. Croix directly north to the above-mentioned northwest angle of Nova Scotia, thence along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence, down along the middle of that river, to the 45th degree of north latitude; thence, by a line due-west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, has not yet been surveyed; it is agreed, that for these several purposes, two commissioners shall be appointed, sworn, and authorised, to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in the present article. The said commissioners shall meet at St. Andrews, in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall have power to ascertain and determine the points above-mentioned, in conformity with the provisions of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and shall cause the boundary aforesaid, from the source of the river St. Croix to the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, to be surveyed and marked according to the said provisions. The said commissioners shall make a map of the said boundary, and annex to it a declaration under their hands and seals, certifying it to be the true map of the said boundary, and particularizing the latitude and longitude of the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, of the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river, and of such other points of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such map and declaration as finally and conclusively fixing the said boundary. And, in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, or declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made, in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is

contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

ART. 6. Whereas, by the former treaty of peace, that portion of the boundary of the United States, from the point where the forty-fifth degree of north latitude strikes the river Troquois or Cataraguy to the lake Superior, was declared to be "along the middle of said river into lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie, thence along the middle of said communication into lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication into the lake Huron, thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and lake Superior."

And whereas doubts have arisen what was the middle of the said river, lakes, and water communications, and whether certain islands lying in the same were within the dominions of his Britannic Majesty or of the United States: in order, therefore, finally to decide these doubts, they shall be referred to two commissioners, to be appointed, sworn, and authorised to act, exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in this present article. The said commissioners shall meet, in the first instance, at Albany, in the state of New York, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit: the said commissioners shall, by a report or declaration, under their hands and seals, designate the boundary through the said river, lakes, and water communications, and decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands lying within the said river, lakes, and water communications, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And, in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made, in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

ART. 7. It is further agreed that the said two last-mentioned commissioners, after they shall have executed the duties assigned to them in the preceding article, shall be, and they are hereby authorised, upon their oaths, impartially to fix and determine, according to the true intent of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two powers, which extends from the water communication between lake Huron and lake Superior, to the most north-western point of the lake of the Woods, to decide to which of the two parties the several islands lying in the lakes, water communications, and rivers, forming the said boundary, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three; and to cause such parts of the said boundary to require it to be surveyed and marked. The said commissioners shall, by a report or declaration under their hands and seals, designate the boundary aforesaid, state their decisions on the points thus referred to them, and particularize the latitude and longitude of the most northwestern point of the lake of the Woods, and of such other parts of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And, in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state, shall be made, in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

ART. 8. The several boards of two commissioners mentioned in the four preceding articles shall, respectively, have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors or other persons as they shall judge necessary. Duplicates of all their respective reports, declarations, statements, and decisions, and of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agents of His Britannic Majesty, and to the agents of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorised to manage the business on behalf of their respective governments. The said commis-

sioners shall be, respectively, paid in such manner as shall be agreed between the two contracting parties, such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. And all other expenses attending the said commission shall be defrayed equally by the two parties. And in the case of death, sickness, resignation, or necessary absence, the place of every such commissioner, respectively, shall be supplied in the same manner as such commissioner was first appointed, and the new commissioner shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties. It is further agreed between the two contracting parties, that in case any of the islands mentioned in any of the preceding articles, which were in the possession of one of the parties prior to the commencement of the present war between the two countries, should, by the decisions of any of the boards of commissioners aforesaid, or of the sovereign or state so referred to, as in the four next preceding articles contained, fall within the dominions of the other party, all grants of land made previous to the commencement of the war by the party having had such possession, shall be as valid as if such island or islands had, by such decision or decisions, been adjudged to be within the dominions of the party having had such possession.

ART. 9. The United States of America engage to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification; and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations, respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811, previous to such hostilities: provided always, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against the United States of America, their citizens and subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly. And his Britannic Majesty engages, on his part, to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom he may be at war, at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations, respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled

to, in 1811, previous to such hostilities: provided always, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against his Britannic Majesty, and his subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

ART. 10. Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both his Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed, that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object.

ART. 11. This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified on both sides, within alteration by either of the contracting parties, and the ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding on both parties; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington, in the space of four months from this day, or sooner, if practicable.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty, and have hereunto affixed our seals.

Done, in triplicate, at Ghent, the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

[L. S.]	GAMBIER,
[L. S.]	HENRY GOULBURN,
[L. S.]	WILLIAM ADAMS,
[L. S.]	JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
[L. S.]	J. A. BAYARD,
[L. S.]	H. CLAY,
[L. S.]	JONA. RUSSELL,
[L. S.]	ALBERT GALLATIN.

376. Thus ended this war, undertaken for the manifest purpose of destroying the freedom of the last free country in the world; this war, so fertile in bloody fights, so fertile in bitterness on one side, and in generous valour on the other; and so triumphant for the cause of liberty and of

virtue. The peace, as was observed in paragraph 226, came wholly unexpected; and, never was anything more worthy of remark than the sly and almost silent manner, in which the fact of its conclusion was suffered to find its way to the ears of the English people. In all other cases, when this kingdom makes peace, it proclaims it by heralds, accompanied by trumpets, and with all possible grandeur of parade, proceeding from the King's Council at WHITEHALL, into the city of London, and there repeating the proclamation in the presence of the Lord Mayor and other authorities of that great city. A peace with America was a matter of much greater importance than a peace with any other country in the world; and yet this peace was proclaimed by nothing but a *couple of little handbills*, stuck up on the two sides of the entrance to St. JAMES's Park, from WHITEHALL!

377. However, the world knew pretty well all about the matter; though the English newspapers devoted scarcely a little paragraph to the giving of the news: the navy, the army, the church, the Jewish fundholders, the aristocracy, all were bursting with rage, yet all were compelled to smother that rage. The world heard, too, of the moral conduct of the parties during the war. The transactions of the river RAISIN; the transactions at HAMPTON, in VIRGINIA; the transactions on the borders of the

CHESAPEAKE; the treatment of the American officers and seamen, recorded by Lieutenant NICHOLSON, in page 498 of the American official letters; the goodness, the uniform kindness and generosity of the Americans to all prisoners of war, *none of whom they ever for one moment put into a prison*; these things are known to the whole world, except to the abused and duped people of England. They treated with the utmost kindness, with brotherly care and regard, even those who had treated them with the utmost insolence, and who had threatened the men with slaughter, and the women with violation. This was the conduct of republicans. Indeed, they carried their generosity to excess; but it was excess on the right side, and it was natural to the character of that excellent people. Even in the case of detected spies, their conduct was not only merciful, but lenient in the extreme. Not so on the other side, with regard to their own spies: a spy had given information, with regard to the weak part of JACKSON's defence; and upon that part, PACKENHAM, who was the commander-in-chief of the English, made his attack. It is stated in the life of General JACKSON, page 386, that this information was given them on the night of the 6th of January. Enraged at the defeat, and believing that the spy had deceived them, the British officers called the spy before them to account for the mischief that he had done; and,

GEORGE IV.

without further ceremony, they hanged him on a tree in view of the camp; and he thus expiated justly his crime of treason, but was intended to expiate a crime which he had not committed. At NEW ORLEANS, the American general knew several persons who were in effect spies, and who communicated with the enemy; but, safe in the valour and fidelity of his troops, he suffered these French and Spanish traitors not only to escape from punishment, but to walk about at large, covered with contempt; just as the general government had done with regard to the brother conspirators of Captain HENRY.

378. Much has been said about the parole and countersign, "BOOTY" and "BEAUTY", said to have been given out by Sir EDWARD PACKENHAM to his army in the battle of the Sth. Mr. BRACKENRIDGE appears to doubt the fact, that any brave man could have given such a watch-word to battle; such an incentive to his soldiers to fight; but, in the large edition of the life of General JACKSON, published in PHILADELPHIA, in the year 1824, and written by JOHN HENRY EATON, a senator of the United States, there is this passage: "English writers may deny the correctness of the charge; it certainly interests them to do so: but its authenticity is too well established to admit of doubt, while its criminality is increased, from being the act of a people who hold themselves up to surrounding nations as

“ examples of every thing that is correct and
“ proper. The facts and the circumstances
“ which were presented at the time of this
“ transaction left no doubt on the minds of our
“ officers, but that ‘ *Beauty and Booty* ’ was the
“ watch-word of the day. The information was
“ obtained from prisoners, and confirmed by *the*
“ *books of two of their orderly-sergeants taken*
“ *in battle, which contained record proof of the*
“ *fact.*”

379. Now, here is something that can be referred to as proof, one way or the other. Those who know the army know very well that, in every camp, every garrison, every detached regiment, there is given out, *every day*, whether in peace or in war, two words, one of which is called the “ *parole* ”, and the other, the “ *countersign* ”; and that these are communicated to the sentinels when they go on their posts, in order that they, when they challenge an approaching person in the night-time, may receive the “ *countersign* ”, in answer to the “ *parole* ”; and thus know that the approaching person is one of themselves. The “ *parole* ” and “ *countersign* ” are given out every day by every officer commanding a camp, a garrison, or a detached corps. All the sergeants of every corps are called together daily, and they all write the “ *parole* ” and “ *countersign* ” down in their orderly-books. Now, therefore, if it be true, that these words were found in

the books of two of the orderly sergeants taken in battle, the horrid fact is unquestionable. However, this admits of proof at this time. I will engage that the orderly books of the 8th of January, 1815, are now to be made forthcoming, even to this day. Nothing would give me much greater pleasure, than to be the cause of establishing the truth with regard to this fact. For the honour of my country I wish it not to be true ; but the words I have quoted are the words of a senator of the United States, putting his name to his book, and a gentleman, too, who has done ample justice to Sir EDWARD PACKENHAM; with regard not only to his heroic valour, but with regard to his general character for generosity and humanity. That character being just, the fact of this watch-word seems incredible ; but, given to us from this source, and strengthened by such circumstances, nothing will rub it out from the minds of men, short of the actual production of the orderly-books of that day.

380. Notwithstanding this provocation, nothing could exceed the generosity of the American general and his men after the slaughter had ceased. From the same authority, we have a statement which it makes the blood to curdle in one's veins to be compelled to believe possible. When the firing had ceased, Mr. EATON informs us, and the columns had retired, " our troops " advanced over the lines to assist and bring in

“ the wounded, who lay under and near the walls;
“ when, strange to tell, the enemy, from the ditch
“ they occupied, *opened a fire upon them*, and,
“ though at a considerable distance, succeeded
“ in wounding several; yet our soldiers con-
“ tinued to administer to the wants of these
“ suffering men, though continually exposed to
“ danger: let the apologist for crime say,
“ wherefore were acts like this committed.”

381. It is very curious; but I have, indeed, stated the reason often enough, that this bitterness against the Americans was peculiar: the hatred against them seems to have been far greater than if every man of them had been the murderer of some relation of each of their assailants: upon every occasion, the kindness and indulgence that they showed towards our people seems only to have added to the hatred and the malice which these latter entertained against them. But the most dreadful act of all has yet to be recorded; and with that I shall conclude my account of this war: I allude to the killing and wounding of the American prisoners of war in the prison of DARTMOOR, in Devonshire; an act that never will be forgotten in America, for ages to come. DARTMOOR is a bleak and open down in Devonshire. On that spot a prison was built, and a guard stationed to lodge and detain these American prisoners of war. A man of the name of THOMAS GEORGE SHORTLAND, who it

appears was a captain, was the keeper of these prisoners; and it was alleged, that on the 6th of April, 1815, they made an attempt "to force the military guard." This was flatly denied on the part of the prisoners. A Mr. KING, an American, and a Mr. LARPENT, employed by our people, were appointed to go to DARTMOOR, and to inquire into the matter. The report made by these men was of a very equivocal character; but they contrived to convict nobody of the killing and wounding of the prisoners. This KING was the son of the old Tory RUFUS KING, who was so long American ambassador in this country, and who aped every thing English, and was heartily despised for his taste. There were five of these prisoners of war killed on the spot, and thirty-three wounded. But, mark these facts: the killing and wounding of these men took place on the 6th of April, 1815, though the peace was made on the 24th of December, 1814; and though the peace stipulated, "that the prisoners of war taken on either side should be restored as soon as practicable after the ratification of the treaty;" so that these poor men were kept in this miserable state out of pure spite, and were killed or wounded upon the bare assertion of this SHORTLAND, that they wanted to get away: but far is this from being the worst part of the affair.

382. We have before seen that the grounds of

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the war were, that the English naval officers impressed American seamen in American ships, on the high seas, and made them serve on board of the English ships of war. When these injured men found that their own country was at war with England, they refused to do any duty on board of our ships ; many of them published affidavits afterwards, stating that they had been flogged for such refusal. Nevertheless, they still refused ; and then, instead of releasing them, and giving them the means of returning to their own country, the English government (let the whole world hear it, and remember it!) **MADE THEM PRISONERS OF WAR, AND SHUT THEM UP IN CLOSE PRISONS !** Some of these men were shut up in the horrible prison of **DARTMOOR**. Eleven of these thirty-eight men that were killed and wounded on this occasion were of this description. One of them was killed upon the spot, another died of his wounds, and the other nine were wounded ! Did the world ever hear of an act like this before ? In the houses in America, belonging to any of the friends, acquaintances, or relations, of these men, and in innumerable other houses, their names and their story are pasted on the walls, *written in blood* ; and in the American almanacks is recorded the anniversary of the massacre of **DARTMOOR**. I shall here record the names of these faithful Americans, putting a star against each of

those who were made prisoners of war, from having been impressed seamen on board of English ships; and these names are as follow:—

KILLED.

William Leveridge.	J. T. Johnson.
James Mann.	John Washington.
* John Haywood.	

WOUNDED.

* Thomas Jackson	John Roberts.
James Campbell.	Thomas Smith.
John Gier.	* Caleb Godding.
William Penn.	Jacob Davis,
Cornelius Gamison.	James Esdaile.
H. Montcalon.	Peter Wilson.
* Robert Willat.	* William Blake.
John Peach.	John Hogabets.
* Edw. Whittlebank.	Ephm. Lincoln.
James Thornhill.	Thos. Findlay.
James Wells.	John Hayward.
* Philip Ford.	* Joseph Masick.
James Bell.	Robert Fitty.
John Grey.	* John Willet.
Wm. Leversage.	* John Perry
Edw. Gardener.	* John Wilson.
Stephen Phipps.	

383. Two of the wounded died the next day; so that there were seven killed out of the thirty-eight. When one thinks of this, one stops to think of it well, before one sheds tears for Generals PACKENHAM, GIBBS, and KEAN, who fell amongst the two thousand men mowed down by the volunteer Americans at NEW ORLEANS. This slaughter at DARTMOOR was a suitable tail-piece

to a war exhibiting transactions like those at HAMPTON, HAVRE-DE-GRACE, and the river RAISIN; to make the whole piece complete; to show to the world that the English government was animated by the same feelings as its agents had been, it was necessary that this should take place under its own nose, and that this deed of SHORTLAND should be here acted in England itself. However, never did war in this world do so much good as this war. The world is not to derive great and lasting lessons and benefits without suffering to some part of its people. To the United States themselves this war produced benefit that admits not of description on account of its magnitude. By the workings of Captain HENRY, and such like agents, a formidable combination against the general government had been formed: the mercantile and paper-money bands, who have no attachment to country, were forming combinations, which might have destroyed the government, had it not been for this war. The haste of the English government to finish the work of enslaving the world actually saved the United States, made them see their danger in time, compelled them to come forth in their defence; and in that defence they at once destroyed the power and the hopes of their enemies, and set an example of the effects of love of liberty, which will never be effaced from the recollection of mankind.

CHAPTER VII.

Political Transactions in, and internal State of, England, from the Peace of Paris, in the Autumn of 1815, to the Death of George III. in January 1820.—Disappointment of the People.—Corn Bill.—Marriage of Princess Charlotte, and her Death.—Power of Imprisonment Bill.—Derbyshire Riots.—Manchester Massacre.—Execution of Thistlewood and others.—Peel's Bill.

384. BEFORE we enter on this chapter, we must again read from paragraph 282 to 291 inclusive, the history of the American war being a sort of interlude in the grand drama of this squandering and fatal and disgraceful regency and reign. From those paragraphs we learn, that the peace of 1815, though preceded by the "glorious Waterloo," and accompanied by the sacking of the museums at Paris, made the people of England miserable, and filled the country with discontent. To carry on the war there was a tax on every man's income to the amount of

10 per cent. The repeal of this tax was loudly demanded, and it took place the next year; but, though this took off about fourteen millions, there were between fifty and sixty millions left; and these were greatly augmented in real amount; because it now took three bushels of wheat to pay a tax which, during the war, had been paid with two bushels; which arose from the causes stated in paragraphs from 282 to 291.

385. The land-owners, who, including the peers, had, in fact, all the legislative power in their hands, now found their rents diminish in amount, found their tenants unable to pay as they paid before, while the interest on the mortgage of their estates, and while the taxes which they had to pay, remained at the same nominal amount as before. The remedy for this was, to lower the interest of the debt, and the interest of all borrowed money; but they wanted the courage to do this. "*National faith*" was the cry; and they dared not face that cry, because, besides other reasons, those to whom their estates were mortgaged were the fundholders. Yet they could not have their usual rents, the produce of the land having fallen one-third in price, even in the year 1814. In this state of their affairs, not daring to propose to lower the interest of the public debt and of mortgages, and thus reduce the taxes and the drain upon their incomes,

they sought to keep up the price of the produce of the land, in spite of the diminution of the quantity of money, and in spite of nature herself. Now it was that the stupidity of this race of men was seen in its full light; now it was that the world had to witness folly and presumption such as were never witnessed before; now it was that the world had to behold the consequences of the power of ruling a great nation being placed in the hands of ignorant men.

386. There had been in England, at almost all times, ever since the reign of Edward the Third, laws to prohibit, or to restrain, at the least, the importation of foreign corn, and other products of the land. During the long war that had just terminated there had existed no such prohibition or restraint: as soon, therefore, as the communication with all the world became open, the produce of the land poured in from abroad; and this had some little (though very little) effect in lowering the price of farm-produce; and, of course, in disabling the farmers from paying the rents which they had heretofore paid. The land-owners, in the fulness of their stupidity, chose to regard this as the *sole* cause of the defalcation in their rents; and, having the power to pass what laws they pleased, their remedy was at hand; namely, a law to prohibit the importation of corn and other produce, but particularly of corn. They mooted the subject

in parliament in 1814, just after the conclusion of the peace of that year. In 1815 they passed the law, commonly called the CORN BILL. According to this law, which is chapter 26 of the 55th year of George the Third, which was passed on the 23rd of March 1815, no wheat was to be imported and sold in the kingdom, unless the average price of English wheat, in England, was eighty shillings a quarter, consisting of eight Winchester bushels; that is to say, unless English wheat were at the price of ten shillings a bushel. The scale for other sorts of corn was in the same proportion.

387. Never was infatuation equal to that which now took possession of the minds of these stupid and powerful men; who, by decreeing that no foreign wheat should come into the country unless English wheat were at ten shillings a bushel, really thought that they had passed a law which would always secure the price of ten shillings a bushel to their tenants for their wheat. Of these men it might be expected, probably, that their minds would be of the earth, "*earthy*"; but the more than brutal folly was not confined to them; the ministers proceeded upon the same presumption; and a man, named WILLIAM HUSKISSON, who was a privy-councillor, and who had been a cabinet minister, and was a cabinet minister afterwards, contended for the right of ten shillings, asserting that it was impossible, with the

then taxes, for English wheat to be grown without loss, and be sold at a price under ten shillings a bushel. I endeavoured myself to convince these stupid men that this corn bill would not keep up the price of their produce; and to show them that the real cause of low price was the change which had taken place in the value of money. I, however, laboured in vain: the manufacturers clamoured against the bill: it was persevered in; and it was finally passed, with troops drawn up round the Houses of Parliament to defend the members from the violence of the people, who looked upon the measure as intended to make bread dear for the benefit solely of the landlords.

388. The wise men were deceived: the corn bill did not keep up the price of corn: the paper-money kept diminishing in quantity; and the price of corn kept falling. Another consequence attended the diminution of the quantity of money: a want of means to give employment, and great suffering amongst the working people, whole bands of whom were seen prowling about the country, demanding work or bread. All trades, all professions, creative industry of every description, felt the deadening effect of the stagnation. People were surprised that such consequences should have proceeded from a successful, a victorious, and a glorious war. Now was the time for the reformers again to bestir them-

selves. In the year 1816 the country seemed absolutely steeped in ruin; and those who had exulted and triumphed at the battle of WATER-LOO, and who were ready and willing to trample the reformers under foot, now hung their heads, seemed alarmed, and began to assume a tone of humanity. The reformers were not idle in this season of the depression of their adversaries. The result of the American war had given great life to the former: they saw one free country, one place of refuge left upon the face of the earth; one spot to which they might flee from the fangs of the blundering and brutal boroughmongers. This had given them great courage, and they began again to bestir themselves. The borough-mongering crew, amongst whom were to be reckoned the clergy and all the receivers of the taxes, fundholders and all, were filled with rage at seeing reform again raise its head, after a twenty-two years' war, successful and glorious war, expressly to put it down for ever. As it were for the purpose of amusing the people, and diverting their attention from such mischievous matter, a marriage was hatched up in 1816, between the Princess CHARLOTTE and the son of a German prince, called SAXE COBURG, who himself was a general in the Austrian service, and had been unmercifully beaten and hunted about by the French, in the early part of the war. The parliament settled a pension on the married pair of

sixty thousand a year during their joint lives; and of fifty thousand a year on SAXE COBURG alone, if the princess should die before him. Upon this occasion, an attempt was made to get up addresses to the prince regent from all the counties and towns in England; and the county of Kent, abounding with dock-yards, arsenals, depôts, and officers of every description, dependent upon the government, was chosen as the place to set the example of this work of addressing. A county meeting was called at MAIDSTONE: both the political parties joined in the enterprise. According to the custom of the county, the orators placed themselves in waggons, in a broad street, about two hundred yards distant from the river Medway, which runs along the western skirts of the town. After about half an hour had been passed in uttering compliments on the royal parties, a working man from the multitude called out, that the people would have to pay the expense of this wedding. Orators of both the parties having remonstrated, the crowd called out, "All tarred with the same brush;" which was followed by a shout—"Into the MEDWAY with them!" The people began to seize the shafts, and to get to the wheels of the waggons: in five minutes the whole of the addressers would have been in the river, waggons and all; but they scampered out of the waggons with great speed, and took refuge in an inn; where,

having first shut and barred the doors, they agreed upon addresses to be presented to the father and to the married pair, purporting to be "the dutiful, loyal, and affectionate addresses of the *county* of Kent!" The real history of the transaction, however, could not be hidden; and no more attempts were made to get up addresses upon the occasion of this marriage.

389. The people all over the kingdom applauded the conduct of the people at MAIDSTONE, who thus gave a specimen of the public feeling, and of the good sense and discernment of the people, at which the boroughmongering crew stood aghast. In this same year, 1816, the stupid land-owners having discovered that the corn bill had not produced the effect which they expected, passed other laws, for imposing duties on butter, cheese, small seeds, oil-cake, cattle, and every thing being the produce of the land. Still, however, the produce of the land was depressed in price; the want of employment kept on increasing; that is to say, the want of money in the usual employers to pay for the usual work. In short, the country was in a state of distress from one corner of it to the other; and a termination to that distress no man could foresee; the stupid land-owners always misunderstanding the cause of it.

390. Now was the time for the *reformers* again to come forward, which they did with

great activity, and with arguments unanswerable. They said, " You promised us, if we would but
" pay for the war to a successful issue, that we
" should have indemnity for the past, and security for the future ; that we should hold our
" property free of heavy burdens, and should enjoy in liberty the fruit of our labour. We find
" our burdens more heavy in peace than we
" found them in war ; for our labour we find not
" half remuneration ; the successful war, and
" the peace dictated by yourselves, have brought
" us want instead of plenty : you have loaded us
" with a perpetual charge beyond our bearing :
" you have increased the number of tax-devourers
" three hundred fold. We want a parliament
" that shall listen to our wrongs, and do us justice : you taxed us for two-and-twenty years,
" to carry on a war to prevent a revolution in
" our country : you contracted a debt for this
" purpose which is to load our children's children
" with taxes for ever : you endeavoured to
" frighten us with the example of France ; but
" we see that that people, though subdued by
" you, and though forced to receive the family of
" their former ruler, have greatly gained by their
" revolution : we therefore demand, in order to
" prevent a violent convulsion in England, a
" parliament fairly and freely chosen by the people, who may redress our wrongs, and relieve
" us from this state of suffering."

391. The latter part of 1816 exhibited great activity amongst the reformers in all parts of the kingdom, holding meetings, and preparing petitions for the meeting of parliament. The parliament met on the 28th of January, 1817. Upwards of three hundred petitions were ready to be presented to it; and there were deputations in London from the working people of all the considerable towns in the north, prepared to go in procession to carry their petitions to the House. Great alarm prevailed in the borough-mongering crew; and amongst the fundholders and tax-devourers of every description. The petitions were signed by about a million and a half of men; and it was determined by the government, not only not to listen to the petitions with any degree of attention, but to treat them as applications coming from conspirators, or intended traitors; and the proceedings in parliament commenced by a speech from the regent, calling upon the House "to feel just indignation
" at the attempts which had been made to
" take advantage of the distresses of the coun-
" try, for the purpose of exciting sedition and
" violence;" and calling upon it also "to assist
" him in counteracting the designs of the disaf-
" fected." This was the signal for what immediately took place; namely, the appointment of a secret committee in each House, to report (after examining evidence) upon the designs, of

the disaffected. As a prelude to this, it was alleged that the prince regent had been *shot at* in the Mall, as he was proceeding to the House. Nobody ever believed this fact: no proof was ever produced of it; but it was made to be a great instrument in accomplishing the designs which the government had formed. The secret committees very speedily reported; and a bill was brought in, chapter 3, 57th year of George the Third, "to empower his Majesty to secure" and detain such persons as his Majesty should "suspect of conspiring against his person and government;" that is to say, an act to authorize the ministers to take, and to put into prison, any persons whom they chose, in any prison that they chose, for as long a time as they chose, without cause assigned, without regular commitment, without being confronted with their accusers, without ever being brought to any trial at all, or to have a hearing before any magistrate, and to turn them out of prison when they chose, without any power of obtaining legal redress for the injury.

392. This was the *answer* which the parliament gave to the petitions for parliamentary reform. The ministers lost no time in availing themselves of the power: they seized upon numerous persons, dragging them, in some cases, two hundred and fifty miles from their home; imprisoned them in a manner that they could have no communication with wives, parents, or

friends ; shut many of them up in solitary cells, and forbade them the use of pen, ink, and paper ; and never, from first to last, brought any man of them to trial, and never gave any man of them a hearing before any magistrate whatsoever. This law was adopted, with a very feeble resistance on the part of the Whigs ; a sham resistance ; for, while they opposed the measure as *unconstitutional*, they admitted that the parties against whom it was levelled were *very wicked men*. They abused them in terms still stronger than those made use of by the ministers ; and, while they pretended to oppose the measure, this perfidious faction,—this base and detestable and cowardly and cruel faction, represented the persons against whom it was directed in such a light, and represented their designs as so full of horrible wickedness, that every one who read their speeches, and who believed what they said, must have regarded the measure as necessary to the safety of the country, though at the expense of the whole of the constitution. This was the uniform practice of this selfish, this greedy, this treacherous, body of men, who have made all the revolutions that England has known for the last two hundred years, and who have fattened on the spoil of every revolution.

393. To accompany this act, there was another, forbidding the people meeting together to discuss political matters ; and authorizing the

magistrates so to interfere with publications as to destroy whatever there remained of the liberty of the press ; and thus was every vestige of political liberty and of personal security taken away from the people of England. These bills were brought into the House of Lords by HENRY ADDINGTON, called Lord Viscount SIDMOUTH, who was an Englishman by birth ; and into the House of Commons by ROBERT STEWART, called Lord CASTLEREAGH, who was an Irishman, and whom we shall by-and-by see cutting his own throat and killing himself, at NORTH CRAY, in Kent. These acts remained in force until 1818, when they were suffered to expire ; and on the 17th of March in that year, an act was passed to *indemnify*, or *bear harmless*, every person, and all persons, who should have violated or gone beyond even these acts. So that, even if they had violated these acts on the persons whom they had seized and imprisoned, whatever they might have done to such imprisoned persons, they were by this act, chapter 6, 58th year of Geo. III., indemnified and borne harmless. Talk not to me of the cruelties and ferocity of those who destroyed the *noblesse* of France. After this, talk not to me of any such things. Talk not to me of constitution and order and the laws : show me something equal to this, done by any other people in the world, calling themselves a government and legislative assemblies. Show me something equal to this before you call

upon me to listen to your alarms about an overthrow of order and the laws!

394. For my own part, the moment these acts were brought into the two Houses, I knew that there was no safety for me on this side of the sea. I took my flight to LONG ISLAND, where I remained, beating the boroughmonger monster with my long arm; fighting him, I myself being in a state of safety, and not quitting my retreat until, as we shall by-and-by see, the monster harpooned himself, in the year 1819, when he did that which has enfeebled him ever since; which has harassed him and tormented him night and day; and which will finally bring him to that end which he so richly merits, and which will fill with gladness every honest heart upon the face of this earth.

395. The boroughmongers had inflicted their vengeance on the innocent reformers; they had imprisoned them; they had ruined them: many they had reduced to complete beggary, and of many they had shortened the lives; but they had not raised the price of wheat; they had not enabled their tenants to pay rents; they had not had the courage to diminish the claims of the fundholder and the mortgagee; their estates were still dwindling away; and the "curse of Scotland," *poverty and pride*, was still gnawing at those hearts upon which nothing else could make impression.

396. In 1817 the princess CHARLOTTE died; and, in the next year, her grandmother, the old queen; events which are hardly worthy of notice, except that the former was followed immediately by a whole batch of marriages on the part of the uncles and aunts of the princess, which have since cost the country, and are still costing it, so many hundreds of thousands of pounds annually. With regard to the cause of the death of the princess I shall say nothing, because I know nothing. A great deal has been said, and is said, about it; but one should listen to all such stories with great caution, especially in cases where it is almost impossible that any person in common life can come at the truth. As to the consequences of the death of this young woman, those not personally acquainted with her could feel no personal sorrow; and, looking at the event in a national point of view, it must, by every reformer, be considered as a good, however amiable and good she might have been; because it multiplied the chances of frequent dissolutions of parliament, a thing for which we have always been praying.

397. The year 1818 produced a rioting in Derbyshire, instigated principally by atrocious miscreants, who took care to keep their own heads out of the halter. Three men, BRANDRETH, TURNER, and LUDLAM, furnished three heads to be added to the long, long list of those

which rolled from the scaffold in the reign of George the Third. These men were parliamentary reformers: they were induced to commit illegal, and what the law now calls treasonable acts; but they died bravely, justifying their principles with their last breath: and not shuffling and equivocating, in imitation of the everlastingly-vaunted Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL.

398. The death of these men did not deter the reformers in the north from demanding parliamentary reform. There were meetings in all the considerable towns for this purpose. At last a sort of general meeting was held at MANCHESTER, in a large open space called ST. PETER'S-field. It was said that there were fifty thousand persons assembled, there being a hustings erected for the chairman, and the object being to make a declaration in favour of parliamentary reform. There was no riot; no violence of any sort; and there had been no riot and no violence; yet this multitude, thus peaceably assembled, for a lawful purpose, and that purpose amply made known beforehand, was attacked, without the smallest provocation, by a body of yeomanry cavalry; and, in the end, five hundred persons were wounded, and several of them were killed. So violent, so outrageous, an act as this, could not fail to fill the whole country with indignation and horror; yet the parliament would not agree even to the instituting

of an inquiry into the matter ; and punishment of no sort, nor even censure, has ever been inflicted upon any of the parties who ordered, or those who executed this horrible assault.

399. In the latter part of the same year a plot was discovered, for which four of the bravest men that ever died lost their heads on the scaffold, just, as it were, to wind up the reign of George the Third, who died in the month of January, 1820. These men had formed the design of killing SLOMOUTH, CASTLEBREAGH, and the rest of the then ministers, at a cabinet dinner. By wretches who had betrayed them, they were got together in a room, in an obscure place, where they were taken. THISTLEWOOD, INGS, TIDD, and BRUNT, were the four principal conspirators. Never were there scenes in this world like the trial and execution of these men. On their trial they scorned to disguise their intention, and insisted that their intention was just ; but they all denied that they had any intention to do injury either to the person or to the authority of the King ; and they insisted, therefore, that they were not traitors. During their long trials they discovered not the least symptom of fear ; spoke of their approaching death as a thing certain ; asked for no mitigation of punishment of any description ; and seemed anxious about nothing but the consequences which their death might produce to their

country. At the place of their execution, which was in the Old Bailey, London, they showed the same intrepidity. The multitude of beholders was immense. At first it was proposed to execute them on the top of the prison; but it was afterwards resolved to bring horse, foot, and artillery, to the amount of ten thousand men, to be ready to act in case of necessity. "Ah!" said BRUNT, when, in mounting the scaffold, he saw the soldiers, "what! troops come at last to attend executions!" INGS, as he mounted the scaffold, sang the old chorus,—

"Oh! give me death or liberty!"

They all addressed the people in a strong, articulate, and unembarrassed tone; and, though their design is not to be justified, justice to their memory demands the assertion, that four braver men never died since man was first created.

400. Thus terminated a plot, which, though the parties concerned in it suffered death, produced a very great effect in this nation. From that day the tone of the sons of corruption became less insolent and audacious: Everybody observed this, and every one said it to his neighbour. Such a horrible design, a design to inflict an indiscriminate killing on thirteen or fourteen men, the perpetrators being not only sane but sensible men; their justification of their conduct from first to last; their persisting in spite of the

remonstrances of the judge that it was a duty to their country that they intended to perform; and finally, the bravery with which they met death: these all put together, could not fail to produce the deep impression which they did produce upon the minds of the whole nation, especially as they had been so recently preceded by the transactions at Manchester, which were still fresh in every one's mind.

401. The parliament met early in November, 1819, for the second time in that year, and it began its labours by passing six acts, intended to restrain the circulation of publications; to prevent meetings of the people for political discussion; to prevent the people training themselves to the use of arms; to authorize justices of the peace to seize arms in the possession of the people and take them from them; to prevent delays in bringing printers and other seditious persons to trial; and to prevent and punish blasphemous and seditious libels. These SIX ACTS, which will be for ever celebrated, were all passed in the month of December, 1819. The Whigs opposed them all, and the Whigs have never proposed to repeal any of them, though they contain such a monstrous innovation on the long settled laws of the country. These acts close the works of the parliament in the dismal and disgraceful year 1819; but let us do justice to this year, and let us do justice to the parliament, which had a

former session in this same year; and on the 2. July of this year it passed an act, which, whatever the *intentions* and *expectations* of its authors might have been, was certainly intended by Providence amply to avenge the long-suffering reformers for all which they had so long had to endure, and of which they had for so many years so frequently and so justly complained.

402. This act, now going under the name of PEEL'S BILL, has inflicted greater pains and penalties on the land-owners of England, and on their tenants, than could ever have been inflicted on them by any body of reformers, however greedy, however unjust and destitute of compassion; and the pleasing circumstance here is, that the land-owners inflicted all this on themselves without being urged thereto by the reformers or by anybody else, but did it from that intuitive stupidity which was their great characteristic, accompanied indeed by their native greediness, they believing that they were going to cram their pockets with gold, while they were actually at work to strip themselves of their estates.

403. This act, which stands in the statute-book as chapter 49 of the 59th year of George the Third, I shall by and by insert at full length, it being an instrument which has produced greater political consequences than any other which can be found in the records of all the nations upon earth. But previous to inserting the act I must

give its most interesting history. At this moment (June 1834) England is plunged in a sea of difficulties; the church is in danger, a proposition for the commuting of its rights, a proposition for the abolishing of church-rates, a proposition for reducing the revenue of the Irish church, a proposition for sweeping away that sacred code, the poor-laws of England, a bill before parliament to admit dissenters into the universities of England, a law to try citizens of Ireland by courts-martial, instead of judges and juries, a committee of the House of Commons reporting that the lands of England are fast becoming waste for want of sufficient labour being bestowed upon them, a bill before parliament for the sending of the best of the labourers into foreign lands at the expense of their parishes! This is the scene which England now (June, 1834) presents to the astonished world. Every one asks what can have been the cause, or causes, of this portentous state of things; things so strange, things so monstrous! The answer is, they have all been produced by the stupid land-owners of England themselves, and by that act of parliament of which I am now about to give the history. In the statute-book this act of parliament occupies scarcely seven pages and a half; yet it has produced greater effects in the world, those effects having gone far beyond the confines of this kingdom, than ever were before produced by any one

thing proceeding from the hand of man in this whole world. This history I shall give by a mere statement of facts as follows:—

404. That in the year 1796, the Bank of England, being hard pressed for gold wherewith to pay its notes when called upon so to do, and not having gold enough to pay with, applied secretly to the minister Pitt, to protect it against the demands of its creditors; that Pitt, who had authorized this bank before to issue five-pound notes, did protect the bank at the request of the bank people; that he, first by an order in council, authorized them to refuse to pay in gold; that he then caused an act of parliament to be passed to make their notes a *legal tender*, that is to say to compel people to take them in payment of a debt, as being equally valuable with gold; that hereupon they put forth (as they naturally would) immense quantities of bank notes, a great part of which were of so low a denomination as *one pound*; that the price of land, corn, cattle, and of all things that are bought and sold in a country, are high-priced or low-priced in proportion to the quantity of money which is circulating in that country; that, if there be a great deal of money, there is more to lay out than if there was little money, and that accordingly every thing sells at a higher price.

405. That, therefore, this new and great issue of paper, which supplied the place of money,

caused land and wheat and meat and every thing else that is bought and sold, to rise greatly in price, and that this appeared to be greatly beneficial to the far larger part of the community, because that larger part are tenants or debtors; that if, for instance, I rent a farm at a hundred pounds a year, and my wheat is *five* shillings a bushel, it will require *four* hundred bushels of my wheat to pay my rent, but if any change take place in the quantity of money in the country, so as to make my wheat sell for *ten* shillings a bushel, then it will require only *two* hundred bushels of wheat to pay my rent.

406. That, therefore, to a very large part of the community, this increase in the quantity of circulating money was very beneficial; but while it was beneficial to those who had debts or rents to pay, it was injurious to those who had them to receive; that things went on in this way until the end of the war; and that wheat, which used to fetch five shillings a bushel, fetched on an average of years fifteen shillings a bushel.

407. That the law, which authorized the bank to refuse payment in gold for its notes, and made those notes a legal tender, had in it a clause which provided that, at the end of six months after the war should be over, and a treaty of peace should be signed, the **LEGAL TENDER SHOULD CEASE**, and that the bank should again pay in gold.

408. That when the peace came, the bank was, therefore, compelled to prepare for paying its notes in gold; that it could not do this without greatly lessening the quantity of its paper, which was now become the circulating money of the whole country, in company with the notes of country bankers, which were also, in fact, a legal tender; that now the thing took the other turn; that the price of every thing fell; that the tenant had two bushels of wheat to give in rent instead of one.

409. That the law did not however go into effect, as it ought to have done; that new acts of parliament were passed to put off the time of paying in gold at the bank; that from 1814 to 1819 this work of putting off payment in gold was continued year after year; till, at last, in the month of July 1819, and by the act of which I have been speaking, and which I shall by-and-by insert, this payment in gold was enforced; and it is this payment in gold which has broken up the boroughmonger government, and produced all those strange effects of which I have spoken above.

410. That the stupid landholders passed the act in order to make their tenants pay them in gold instead of paper; that the far greater part of the leases existing in 1819, as well as the far greater part of the mortgages then existing, had been made and contracted while wheat was selling for fifteen shillings the bushel; that, therefore, to make a farmer pay the same nominal sums when,

wheat had fallen to eight or nine shillings a bushel, was to ruin the farmer ; and to make a man pay the interest of a mortgage contracted when wheat was fifteen shillings a bushel, was to do great injustice to the person who had borrowed the money.

411. That **PEEL'S BILL**, as will be by-and-by seen, provided for a gradual return to gold payments ; and that the real gold payments were not to take place until the month of May, 1823 ; that there were provisions in the act which rendered it optional with the bank of England to pay sooner.

412. That it was expected by the parliament, and the wise landholders in particular, that all injury would be avoided by going thus slowly to work ; that they were such fools as not to perceive that ten guineas taken away, one at a time, is in the end taking away ten guineas.

413. That the interest of the debt ; that the pay of the army, the navy, the salaries, the pensions, the sinecures, half-pay, retired allowances, and widows' pensions, and the like ; that all these were, in fact, doubled, when it required twice the number of bushels of wheat to pay them ; that the stupid landholders did not perceive this, and that the stupid statesmen were just as brutally ignorant as they ; and that, therefore, they passed this act, which has turned half of them out of their country houses, which has enriched all the receivers of the taxes, which has half revolutionized the

country, and which, in all human probability, will finish the work.

414. That the parties passing this bill were not taken by surprise ; that they did not do it in haste ; that they brought their best understandings to bear upon the matter ; that they had a committee sitting for many months, of which the present Sir ROBERT PEEL was the chairman ; that they were duly warned by me a twelvemonth beforehand, of all the unavoidable consequences of the measure ; that they adopted the measure with voice unanimous, and with a sneer of contempt on the warning which I had given them as to the consequences ; that they congratulated each other when they had passed the law as if they had found a casket of precious jewels ; that their speaker carried the bill and presented it to the prince regent, bespeaking his praise for their indefatigable industry, their profound researches, and their exemplary zeal in the service of their king and constituents.

415. That this act has, even unto this day, never gone into full effect ; that, nevertheless, it has produced calamities unspeakable ; that it has reduced hundreds of thousands of families from competence to want ; that it has brought whole classes of persons into a state of beggary ; that it has taken from the farmers the means of employing labourers, till, at last, the parliament has a bil before it for the raising of money to send

labourers into foreign lands to get rid of them, while the fields of England are insufficiently cultivated, and in some cases thrown into waste, for the want of labour being bestowed upon them.

416. That it was perfectly proper to make the Bank pay its notes in gold, and to put an end to the legal tender ; but that the interest of the debt, the interest on mortgages, the amount of rents, the amount of debts, the amount of annuities, the amount of army and navy pay, the amount of salaries, and the amount of all taxes, should have been reduced at the same time, in proportion to the fall in the price of the bushel of wheat ; for the want of having done this, all the institutions of this country will, in all probability, be overthrown, and the boroughmongers will have, with their own hands, and without being asked to do it by the people, made that very revolution, which they falsely and basely accused the reformers of wanting to make, and on the ground of which base and false accusation, they authorized SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH to shut them up in dungeons at their pleasure.

417. I will now insert this act ; this monument of the brutal ignorance, greediness, presumption, and insolence of the English land-owners.

An Act to continue the Restrictions contained in several Acts on Payments in Cash by the Bank of England, until the First Day of May one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, and to provide for the gradual Resumption of such Payments; and to permit the Exportation of Gold and Silver.

[2nd July, 1819.]

WHEREAS an act was passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled *An Act for confirming and continuing for a limited time, the Restriction contained in the Minute of Council of the Twenty-sixth of February, One thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, on Payments of Cash by the Bank; which* act was continued, under certain regulations and restrictions, by another act made in the said Parliament in the thirty-seventh year aforesaid; and by an act made in the Parliament of Great Britain in the thirty-eighth year of his present Majesty's reign, the provisions contained in the said last recited act of the thirty-seventh year were amended and continued; and by an act made in the forty-second year of his present Majesty's reign, the several provisions of the said acts passed in the thirty-seventh year aforesaid, so far as the same are amended and continued by the said act passed in the thirty-eighth year aforesaid, and also the recited act of the thirty-eighth year aforesaid, were further continued; and by an act passed in the forty-third year of his present Majesty's reign, the several provisions of the said acts passed in the thirty-seventh year aforesaid, so far as the same are amended by the said act passed in the thirty-eighth year aforesaid, and continued by the said act of the forty-second year, were further continued and amended; and by an act made in the forty-fourth year of his present Majesty's reign, the several provisions of the said acts passed in the thirty-seventh year aforesaid, so far as the same are amended by the said act passed in the thirty-eighth year aforesaid, and continued and amended by the said act of the forty-third year aforesaid, were further continued; and by several acts passed in the fifty-fourth, fifty-fifth, fifty-sixth, and fifty-eighth years of his present Majesty's reign, the said recited act of the forty-fourth year has been continued, and is now in force, until the fifth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen: And

whereas an act was passed in the present session of Parliament, intituled *An Act to Restrain, until the end of the present Session of Parliament, the Governor and Company of the Bank of England from making Payments in Cash under certain Notices given by them for that purpose*: And whereas it is expedient that the restrictions on payments in cash by the said Bank should be continued beyond the time to which such restrictions are at present limited, and that a definite period should be fixed for the termination of such restrictions, and that preparatory measures should be taken with a view to facilitate and ensure, on the arrival of that period, the payment of the promissory notes of the Bank of *England* in the legal coin of the realm: Be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the several provisions of the said herein-before recited acts passed in the Parliament of *Great Britain* in the thirty-seventh year of his present Majesty's reign, so far as the same are amended by the said act passed in the Parliament of *Great Britain* in the thirty-eighth year of his present Majesty's reign, and by the said act of the forty-third year of his present Majesty's reign, for continuing and amending the same, and also of the said herein-before recited act of this present session of Parliament, and each and every of the said acts, shall be, and the same and every of them is and are hereby further continued, until the first day of *May* one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three; and that from and after the said first day of *May* one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, and that from and after the said first day of *May* one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, the restrictions on payments in cash under the said several acts shall finally cease and determine.

II. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That at any time on or after the first day of *February* one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and before the first day of *October* one thousand eight hundred and twenty, whenever any person shall tender to the governor and company of the Bank of *England* any note or notes of the said governor and company payable on demand, to an Amount not less than the price or

value of sixty ounces of gold, calculated after the rate of four pounds one shilling for every ounce of gold, and shall require such note or notes to be paid in standard gold, the governor and company of the said Bank of *England* shall, upon demand, pay and deliver to the person tendering such notes, such quantity of gold of the fineness declared by law to be the standard of and for the lawful gold coin of the realm, the same having been first assayed and stamped at his Majesty's Mint in *London*, as shall, at the said rate of four pounds one shilling for every ounce of such gold, be equal to the amount of the notes so presented for payment.

III. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that at any time on or after the first day of *October* one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and before the first day of *May* one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, whenever any person shall tender to the governor and company of the Bank of *England* any note or notes of the said governor and company payable on demand, to an amount not less than the price or value of sixty ounces of gold, calculated after the rate of three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence for every ounce of gold, and shall require such note or notes to be paid in standard gold, the governor and company of the said Bank of *England* shall, upon demand, pay and deliver to the person tendering such notes, such quantity of gold of the fineness declared by law to be the standard of and for the lawful gold coin of the realm, the same having been first assayed and stamped at his Majesty's Mint in *London*, as shall, at the said rate of three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence for every ounce of such gold, be equal to the amount of the notes so presented for payment.

IV. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that at any time on or after the first day of *May* one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, and before the first day of *May* one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, whenever any person shall tender to the governor and company of the Bank of *England* any note or notes of the said governor and company payable on demand, to an amount not less than the price or value of sixty ounces of gold, calculated after the rate of three pounds seventeen shillings and tenpence halfpenny for every ounce of gold, and shall re-

quire such note or notes to be paid in standard gold, the governor and company of the said Bank of England shall, upon demand, pay and deliver to the person tendering such notes, such quantity of gold of the fineness declared by law to be the standard of and for the lawful gold coin of the realm, the same having been first assayed and stamped at his Majesty's Mint in London, as shall, at the said rate of three pounds seventeen shillings and ten-pence halfpenny for every ounce of such gold, be equal to the amount of the notes so presented for payment.

V. And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the governor and company of the said Bank of England, at any time between the said first day of February one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and the said first day of October one thousand eight hundred and twenty, to pay and deliver to any person who shall present notes of the said governor and company of the said bank, such quantity of gold of such fineness as aforesaid, and assayed and stamped as aforesaid, as shall be equal to the amount of the notes so presented, at any rate less than four pounds one shilling, and not less than three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence for every ounce of such gold; and in like manner at any time between the first day of October one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and the first day of May one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, to pay and deliver such gold at any rate less than three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence, and not less than three pounds seventeen shillings and ten-pence halfpenny for every ounce of such gold: provided always, that the governor and company of the said Bank of England shall give three days' notice in *The London Gazette* of their intention to make such payments after such rates, specifying the rates at which such payments shall be made; and provided also that it shall not be lawful for the governor and company of the said Bank of England, at any time after making such payments at the rates mentioned in any such notice, to pay or deliver any such gold at a rate higher than the rate mentioned in any such notice; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

VI. Provided also, and be it enacted, That the governor and company of the Bank of England shall not be required or

compelled to pay or deliver any such gold, except in ingots or bars of the weight of sixty ounces each, assayed, and stamped as aforesaid; any thing herein-before contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

VII. Provided also, and be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the governor and company of the said Bank of *England* to pay any fraction less than forty shillings of any sum so demanded above the value of sixty ounces, in the lawful silver coin of the realm.

VIII. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That the governor and company of the Bank of *England*, if they shall see fit, may at any time on or after the first day of *May* one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, pay or exchange the lawful coin of the realm for any note or notes of the said governor and company payable on demand; any provisions in the said before-recited acts, or in this act, to the contrary notwithstanding.

IX. And be it further enacted, That the governor and company of the Bank of *England* shall, from time to time after the passing of this act, and until the first day of *May* one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, cause a true and perfect account in writing, to be taken and attested by the proper officer, of the average amount of all promissory notes and bills of the said governor and company which shall be in circulation during every week, from *Monday* until *Saturday* both inclusive, distinguishing the respective denominations and values of the several notes and bills, and the average amount of the notes and bills of each denomination and value respectively so in circulation, and to cause such account to be transmitted and delivered to one of the clerks of his Majesty's privy council, on the *Tuesday* in every week next ensuing the *Saturday* to which such account shall be made up; and the said governor and company shall also from time to time, in like manner, cause an account to be taken and attested of the average amount of all promissory notes and bills of the said governor and company which shall be in circulation during every quarter of a year, ending on the fifth day of *July*, the tenth day of *October*, the fifth day of *January*, and the fifth day of *April*, in every year, after the passing of this act, and until the first day of *May* one thousand eight hundred and twenty-

three, distinguishing the respective denominations and values of the several notes and bills, and the average amount of the notes and bills of each denomination and value respectively, and to cause such quarterly account to be published in *The London Gazette* within one week next after the end of each quarter respectively.

X. And whereas the laws now in force against melting and exporting the gold and silver coin of the realm have been found ineffectual, and it is expedient that the traffic in gold and silver bullion should be unrestrained; be it therefore enacted, That from and after the passing of this act it shall and may be lawful for any person or persons to export the gold or silver coin of the realm to parts beyond the seas, and also to melt the gold and silver coin of the realm, and to manufacture or export, or otherwise dispose of the gold or silver bullion produced thereby; and no person who shall export or melt such gold or silver coin, or who shall manufacture, export, or dispose of such bullion, shall be subject to any restriction, forfeiture, pain, penalty, incapacity, or disability whatever, for or in respect of such melting, manufacturing, or exporting the same respectively; any thing in any act or acts in force in *Great Britain* or *Ireland* to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding.

XI. And for the removing all doubts and uncertainties with respect to various provisions in divers ancient statutes against melting and exporting of gold and silver; be it further enacted, That so much of a statute made in the ninth year of the reign of King *Edward* the Third shall be repealed, whereby it is provided, that no religious man nor other shall carry any sterling out of the realm of *England*, nor silver in plate, nor vessel of gold, nor of silver, upon pain of forfeiture of the money, plate, or vessel that he shall so carry without the King's special license; and also that so much of the said statute shall be repealed, whereby it is provided that no sterling halfpenny nor farthing be molten for to make vessel or any other thing, by goldsmiths nor other, upon forfeiture of the money so molten; and that the goldsmith or other which shall have so molten such money shall be committed to prison, and there shall remain till he shall have yielded unto the King the one half of that he hath so molten; and that also so

much of a statute made in the seventeenth year of the reign of the said King *Edward* the Third shall be repealed, whereby it is accorded and assented, that good and lawful men shall be assigned in the ports of the sea and elsewhere, where need shall be, to make search that no silver be carried out of the realm, neither in money nor otherwise; and that the said searchers shall have the third part of the good money which they shall find upon the sea, passing out of the realm; and also that so much of the statute of the staple, or ordinance of the staples, made in the twenty-seventh year of the said King *Edward* the Third, shall be repealed, whereby it is enacted, that none carry out of the King's realm and lands the old sterling; and also that so much of the statute made in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of the said King *Edward* the Third shall be repealed, whereby it is enacted that none carry out of the realm gold or silver, in plate nor in money; and also that so much of the statute made in the fifth year of the reign of King *Richard* the Second shall be repealed, whereby it is assented and accorded, and the King enjoineth all manner of people, merchants, clerks, and other, as well strangers as denizens, of what estate or condition they be, upon pain of as much as they may forfeit, that none of them, upon the said pain, privily or openly, do send nor carry, nor cause to be sent or carried, out of the realm, any gold or silver in money, bullion, plate, or vessel, neither by exchanges to be made, nor in any other manner whatever, except the wages of *Calais* and of other the King's fortresses beyond the sea, and especially excepted the prelates, lords, and others of the same realm, to whom sometimes it behoveth necessarily to make payments beyond the sea, that of such payments only, they may make exchange in *England* by good and sufficient merchants to pay beyond the sea, special leave and license being therefore first had of our lord the King, as well for the exchangers as for the person which ought to make the payment, containing expressly the sum which shall be so exchanged; and whereby it is assented that the merchants who so shall make the said exchanges shall be diligently examined and sworn, in their proper persons, as often as they shall have the said license, that they will not send beyond the sea any manner of gold nor silver under the colour of the same exchange; and that if

after proclamation of the said ordinance, any person be from thenceforth duly attainted that he had caused to be sent or carried beyond the sea any gold or silver, against the said restraint and ordinance, he should forfeit to the King the same sum so carried or sent; and also that so much of the statute made in the seventeenth year of the reign of the said King *Richard* the Second shall be repealed, whereby it is ordained and assented, that no groat or half groat shall be molten by any man, to make any vessel or other thing thereof, and that no man shall send English money into *Scotland*, to change the same in money or for money of *Scotland*; and also that so much of the statute made in the second year of the reign of King *Henry* the Fourth shall be repealed, whereby it is ordained and established, that if any searcher of the King may find gold or silver in coin, or in mass, in the keeping of any that is about passing, or upon his passage in any ship or vessel to go out of any port, haven, or creek of the realm, without the King's special license, all that gold or silver shall be forfeit to the King; and also that so much of a statute made in the second year of the reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, shall be repealed, whereby it is ordained and established, that no gold or silver shall be carried out of the realm, upon pain of forfeiture of the value of the sum of money which shall be carried out of the realm, to be levied of him that shall bring, carry, or send it out; and that he which carrieth the same, and thereof giveth knowledge to the council, or to the treasurer of *England*, shall have the fourth part of the forfeiture so due to the King; and also that so much of an act made in the fourth year of the reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, intituled *An Act against carrying away of Coin, Plate, Vessels or Jewels* out of this realm, shall be repealed, whereby it is enacted, that no person dwelling or inhabiting within this realm pay or deliver, wittingly, by way of exchange or otherwise, to any merchant or other person, stranger, born out of the King's obedience, for any merchandize or wares, or in any other wise, any manner pieces of gold coined in this realm, or in any other realm, or any plate, vessel, mass bullion, nor jewels of gold wrought or unwrought, upon pain to forfeit and lose the double sum or double value of all such money of gold coined, plate, vessel, mass bullion, or jewel of gold or silver, paid,

delivered, or exchanged, contrary to the said act; and also that an act made in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of King *Charles the Second*, intituled *An Act to prevent the inconvenience arising by melting the Silver Coin of this Realm*, shall be repealed, whereby it is enacted that no person or persons shall wilfully melt, or cause to be melted, any of the current silver money of this realm, under the pains, penalties, and disabilities in the said act mentioned; and the several recited provisions of the said several statutes and acts, and the said recited act of the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of King *Charles the Second*, and all and every other law and laws, act and acts, in force immediately before the passing of the said last-recited act, whereby the melting or exportation of gold and silver coin, or the exportation of molten gold or silver, or bullion of gold or silver, was prohibited or restrained, shall be, and the same are and is hereby repealed, except only so far as relates to any suit, action, or information which at the time of the passing of this act shall or may be depending, with relation to any offence against the said statutes or acts respectively, or any of them.

XII. And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, so much of an act made in the sixth and seventh years of his late Majesty King *William the Third*, intituled *An Act to prevent counterfeiting and clipping the Coin of this Kingdom*, shall be repealed, as requires the taking, administering, or certificate of any oath, that no part of any molten silver intended for exportation, was before the same was molten the current coin of this realm, nor plate wrought within this kingdom; and also that so much of the said act shall be repealed, whereby it is enacted, that if any broker or brokers, not being a trading goldsmith or refiner of silver, shall buy or sell any bullion or molten silver, every such person shall suffer for every such offence imprisonment for six months, without bail or mainprize; and also that so much of the said act shall be repealed, as authorizes the wardens or assistants of the Company of Goldsmiths of *London*, or any two justices of the peace, to seize, as unlawful bullion, any molten silver, which before the melting thereof was the current coin of this realm, or as requires any offender in whose possession unlawful bullion shall be found, to prove on oath

that such bullion was not the current coin of the realm; and also that so much of an act made in the seventh and eighth years of the reign of his late Majesty King *William the Third*, intituled *An Act to encourage the bringing Plate into the Mint to be coined, and for the remedying the ill state of the Coin of the Kingdom*, shall be repealed, as requires the taking, administering, or certificate of any oath, that no part of any molten silver or bullion whatsoever to be shipped for exportation, was before the same was molten the coin of this realm, nor plate wrought within this kingdom; and also that so much of the said last-mentioned act shall be repealed, as imposes any penalty or forfeiture, or incapacity on the captain or master of any ship or vessel, who shall knowingly permit or suffer molten silver or bullion to be put on board his ship or vessel; and all the said recited provisions of the said several acts are hereby repealed accordingly.

XIII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to repeal or alter any act or acts, or any part of any act or acts in force in *Great Britain or Ireland*, so far as the same relate to the prevention, detection, or punishment of the offences of clipping, washing, rounding, filing, impairing, diminishing, falsifying, scaling, or lightening of the lawful coin of the realm, or to the inflicting any pain, penalty, or forfeiture on any persons guilty of such offences, or guilty of buying or selling, or knowingly having in their custody any clippings or filings of such coin; and that from and after the passing of this act, before any person or persons shall transport, or cause to be transported, any molten silver whatever, oath shall be made before the wardens of the company of goldsmiths in *London*, or one of them, by the owner or owners of such molten silver, and likewise by one credible witness, that the same is lawful silver, and that no part thereof was, before the same was molten, clippings of the current coin of this realm, which oath the said wardens, or any one of them, are and is hereby required and authorized to administer, instead of the oath required by the said recited act of the sixth and seventh years of the reign of King *William the Third*; and that from and after the passing of this act, before any person or persons shall ship, or cause to be shipped or put on

board any ship or vessel whatsoever, any molten silver or bullion whatsoever, oath shall be made before the court of the lord mayor and aldermen of the City of *London*, by the owner or owners of such molten silver or other bullion whatsoever, and likewise by two or more credible witnesses, that no part of such molten silver or bullion was, before the same was molten, clippings of the coin of this realm; which oath the said court of the said lord mayor and aldermen of the said City of *London*, are hereby required and authorized to administer, instead of the oath required by the said recited act of the seventh and eighth years of the reign of King *William* the Third; and that all the powers, authorities, rules, regulations, and provisions in the said several acts contained, shall continue and be in force, with relation to the clippings of the coin of the realm, and with relation to the exportation of any molten silver or bullion whatsoever, which before the melting thereof was clippings of the coin of the realm, and in all other respects whatever, except only so far as the same are expressly repealed or altered by this act; any thing in this act before contained to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

418. Inscrutable are the ways of Providence. If there were no vice, there would be no virtue: we should not know what the word meant, and there would be no such word: if there were no stupid tyrants, there would be no wise and just rulers: if there had been none to oppress the people of *England*, to shut them up in dungeons, and to treat them like dogs, we should have wanted the pleasure of detesting this boroughmonger-crew, and of exulting in the contemplation of this deed by which they pulled down and degraded themselves. Compared with them the poorest man that they have afflicted is happy, when we think of the racking cares and the dismal forebodings that harass their minds. It is

curious to observe how these oppressors have overreached themselves, and have been made the instruments of their own punishment. They undertook the war against France, not for the sake of the Bourbons, or for that of the Catholic religion, which latter they were persecuting in Ireland, while they were railing against those who had put it down in France, and while they were embracing, and giving pensions out of the people's money to, French Catholic bishops and priests. They deluded the people of England by lies and hypocrisy, in order to induce them to permit the contracting of a debt, and the moulding of the country into a half-military state, the expenses of which are now rousing the people against them. They are now reduced to that state, in which they are compelled, in order to have wherewith to eat and to drink and to wear, to sell to the fundholders and mortgagees, the game which they formerly would not suffer them to look at. The game act, trifling as it may appear in itself, is the most signal mark of their profound degradation. They have passed one act to do away with the *qualification* for killing game; and another to enable them to *sell* game. An act may be base, if openly avowed; but to perform the act from fear, and to disguise the fear, gives it a character of tenfold baseness. They knew that the money-mongers, who were their mortgagees, but who had no land, did not relish the exclusion : they,

therefore, under the base pretence of liberality, did away with the qualification towards all persons whatsoever, while they provided double and treble punishments for the poor man, when he attempted to touch game. It is impossible to think of their base cringing towards the money-mongers, and of their haughtiness and insolence towards the farmers, the tradesmen, and the working people, without rejoicing at their degradation and their indescribable embarrassment.

419. We shall, by and by, after the next chapter, see how this act of parliament worked in the country; how it pulled down prices, in spite of the corn bill, upon which the greedy and stupid landlords had so firmly relied, for what they called "*protection*."

CHAPTER VIII.

The Queen's Return to England.—Attempts of the Government to get her Abroad again.—Her Trial.—Her Acquittal.—Her Death.

420. BEFORE the reader proceed with the curious matter contained in this chapter, he ought to read again from paragraph 158 to paragraph 200, where he was told of the causes which led to the fatal step which the Princess of Wales took in 1814, when the sons and daughters of corruption, seeing her in the hands of the *reformers*, prevailed on her, by the instrumentality of CANNING, to leave England, and to travel on the Continent, where she was sure to be well fitted out with spies in all characters and of all prices. If she had remained in England, as her own safety and duty towards her daughter so clearly dictated, her power would soon have been greater than that of her husband: by following the advice of her professing friends, who were the notorious enemies of the people, she lost, for

six years of idle amusement, peace of mind for the rest of her life, and her life into the bargain.

421. But the sacrifice, though so great to herself, was not without its good effects : the agitation of the questions relating to her ; the contest, the strife, the outrageous hostility, between the people and those who possessed the powers of the state, legislative as well as executive : this war let loose for a time every tongue and every pen in England. There was no law of libel for nearly a year ; men talked in public and in print as if they were sitting by their fire-side. All this gave a very rude shock to the whole of the governing powers. Royalty was pulled down ; nobility was pulled down. The bishops and the church got mixed up in the degrading mess. The military and naval shine had been rubbed off by the affair of the Duke of YORK and Mrs. CLARKE, and more especially by the American war and its interesting events ; so that here was a change altogether, amounting to a complete revolution in the minds of the people with regard to all their rulers of every description ; and this affair of the queen was so novel, so interesting, such an irresistible bait to curiosity, that, before it was over, all the foibles, all the vices, of all our rulers, of every description, became intimately known in every cottage in the kingdom. This very important change in the minds of the people

was one of the great causes of those measures, which have since been adopted, and are (1834) about to be adopted.

422. Now, with regard to the history of the proceedings against the queen, we must go back to the time of her going abroad, in 1814, and to the cause of her going abroad; and these we shall find stated in paragraphs from 158 to 200; inclusive. From the disclosures which now took place, it appears that the moment she was got abroad, at the suggestion of CANNING, and by the concurrent advice of WHITBREAD and BROUGHAM, she was beset with spies. This would naturally be the case; but, at any rate, it was proved to have been the case. The old king having died in January 1820, her husband became king; and, of course, she became queen. Immediately an underhand negotiation was set on foot to keep her upon the Continent; to prevent her from coming to England; and, if she did not consent to that, she was threatened with a prosecution for adulterous intercourse, which, she was told, was high treason, and for which, of course, her life might be taken. This negotiation; her listening to these proposals, and that, too, from January to June; her remaining upon the Continent all this time; her hesitating for five long months before she came to assume her rights as queen; her patiently foregoing this power of triumphing over "THE SOVEREIGN,"

was never noticed as an argument against her ; but it was, in reality, the most suspicious circumstance of all ; for where was there a woman ever before heard of in the whole world who would have deferred, for a moment, the opportunity of assuming her rights as queen, and of seeing, crouching at her feet, those vile courtiers who had abandoned her, when they saw no prospect of such elevation ? Where did the world ever before hear of a woman who would consent to live about from tavern to tavern, unnoticed even by the petty princes of Italy, when she could at once be, in reality, in the full exercise of all her rights as queen of the kingdom which was bowed to by them all ?

423. She was always, from the time of her quitting England, in correspondence, as it afterwards appeared, with Mr. Alderman Wood, mentioned with so much honour in the former part of this history. His advice (always proceeding upon a conviction that all the rumours against her were founded in falsehood) was, that she should come to England at once. He well knew the disposition of the people with regard to her, and with regard to her husband ; and her return was most anxiously desired by every friend of popular rights. At last, early in June 1820, she sent for the alderman, who met her at some part of MONT BIED, and came on with her to ST. OMERS, in France, at which they arrived

on 1. of June. ST. OMERS is about thirty miles from CALAIS; and she had resolved to go off as quickly as possible to CALAIS, and from CALAIS to England. In the meanwhile a courier arrived from BROUGHAM, who followed it in person, and got to ST. OMERS on the 3. of June. He was accompanied by Lord HUTCHINSON, the personal and bosom friend of the king. She had an audience with these two, in which it was proposed to her that she should receive a pension of fifty thousand pounds a year, upon condition that she should renounce her title as queen, refrain from using the name of the royal family of England, and never return to this country. And, in the event of her not agreeing to these terms, she was told that the moment she set her foot in Great Britain, a message would be sent down to parliament, and in all probability proceedings would be commenced against her.

424. She left Lord HUTCHINSON and this talking lawyer, who had now been appointed, at his own request, her attorney-general, without giving them any answer; but, to their great astonishment, looking out of the windows of their hotel, very soon afterwards, while they were waiting for her answer, they saw her drive by as fast as possible towards CALAIS, leaving her attorney-general behind her. Arrived at CALAIS, she went instantly on board, and arrived at DOVER, after a short passage. When she got to

CALAIS, it was half-past ten o'clock at night; but she, without waiting for her carriages to go with her, went down to the pier, and though the tide was out, insisted upon being put on board immediately, at midnight on the Sunday night, the 4. of June. This extreme haste was occasioned by her fear of the *movements of the French government*, she being well acquainted with the influence of her husband with regard to that government, and also well acquainted with what governments on the Continent are capable of doing in such cases. When the military commandant of ST. OMBRES offered her a guard of honour she refused it, on the ground that the French government had treated her with studied neglect during her journey through France. Her determination was right; for, at CALAIS, orders had been received to show her no mark of respect; and the mayor threatened to imprison any one who should dare to do it. Her promptitude saved the mayor this trouble: she came to DOVER; and as her husband's friend, Lord HUGHINSON, had come from England in the same vessel with her attorney-general, and had gone from CALAIS to ST. OMBRES together in the same carriage, she safely landed at DOVER, left them to return, if they chose, in the same manner, dismissing her Italian domestics, and coming on to London, escorted by Mr. Alderman WOOD and Lady ANNE HAMILTON. After all

this, the wonder of every sensible man was that BROUGHAM was still her attorney-general, and that he was so to the end of her life : she had wit, great quickness of perception, great resolution ; but she appears to have been deficient in that sober reason, which, in such cases, is the only source of safety.*

425. The moment she landed at DOVER the exultation of the people began. Her progress to London, where she arrived on the 6. of June, was one unbroken triumphal procession ; and, at last, two hundred thousand persons, at the least, received her with acclamations of joy, and would have conducted her into her husband's then palace, in PALM MALL, had she not been prevailed on, contrary to her own wishes, not to go into that palace, but to go to the house of Mr. Alderman WOOD, which was situated in SOUTH AUDLEY-street, near to Hyde-park. The joy of the people, of all ranks, except nobility, clergy, and the army and the navy, who in fact were theirs, was boundless ; and they expressed it in every possible way that people can express their joy. They had heard the rumours about a lewd life, and about an adulterous intercourse. They could not but believe that there was some foundation

* A particular and full account of all these proceedings will be found in " Cobbett's Register," vol. 36, from pages 938 to 960.

for something of this kind ; but they, in their justice, went back to the time when she was in fact turned out of her husband's house, with a child in her arms, without blame of any sort ever having been imputed to her. They compared what they had *heard* of the wife with what they had *seen* of the husband ; and they came to their determination accordingly. As far as related to the question of guilt or innocence they cared not a straw : they took a large view of the matter : they went over her whole history : they determined that she had been wronged, and they resolved to uphold her.

426. All efforts having failed to keep her out of England, the next best thing was to get her out of it, she having got in ; and to effect this object all manner of means were employed. The parliament was sitting. Lord LIVERPOOL, who was the prime minister, of course took the lead in the House of Lords. Lord CASTLEREAGH, who was secretary of state for foreign affairs, was what they call the leader of the House of Commons. Both bodies were thrown into utter confusion. There is no doubt that the ministers had too much sense to wish to convulse the country with this terrible subject ; there is no doubt that they would, if they could, have quieted the king, and reconciled him to a sort of life, such as kings of France, and Charles the Second, led with their queens. But there were WHIGS

in existence ! Whigs always wanted places, and were always very little scrupulous of the means by which they got them. In short, if those who were *in* power would not have obeyed the king, he knew that those who were out of power would obey him ; so that the ministers resolved to get her out of the country if they could, to make her relinquish the title of queen ; and if they could not effect this, to bring her to a trial.

427. First, however, the expatriation-project had to be tried. The two Houses paused for a while, for the purpose of giving time for negotiation with the queen. The king (on the 6. of June), as soon as the queen arrived in England, sent a message to the two Houses, stating that he had sent to them certain papers, relative to the conduct of the queen while abroad, and that “ he had the fullest confidence that the two “ Houses would do that which the justice of the “ case, and the honour and dignity of his crown, “ might require.” The queen sent her message, demanding the enjoyment of her rights as queen, and treating the supposed charges against her as false. After this the two Houses did nothing in the matter until a negotiation had been carried on between the ministers on one side, and the queen on the other. The Duke of WELLINGTON and CASTLEREAGH were appointed by the ministers ; and BROUGHAM and DENMAN (the latter

having been appointed her solicitor-general by the advice of Mr. Alderman WOOD) on the part of the queen. The papers relating to this negotiation, the first date being on the 9. of June, and the last on the 19. of June, will all be found in *Cobbett's Register*, vol. 36, from page 1080 to page 1096. From these papers it clearly appears, that BROUGHAM and DECEMAN consented to the queen's going out of the country, upon certain conditions; namely, that she should receive a pension of fifty thousand pounds a year, clear of all deductions, provided her name were inserted in the Liturgy in the Common Prayer Book. They stickled for an introduction of the queen at foreign courts, by our foreign ministers. But the sum and substance was, that these advisers of the queen did propose terms by which she was to quit the country for ever, and renounce her rights as queen; that they did positively agree that she would go if her pension was assured to her; and if she were introduced to foreign courts, or to one foreign court, as Queen of England. The ministers would not consent to this; not consent even to this; but they did consent that to some one government of the Milanese or Roman territory the king would consent to cause official communication to be made of her legal character as queen.

428. Yet it was feared, and particularly by me,

that she would go, even on these dishonourable terms. Every effort that I could make in public I made to prevent this; and I made every effort in private also. From the first landing of the queen I perceived that every thing depended upon her remaining here; that, guilty or innocent, she would be blasted for ever if she went away on *any terms*; for what woman ever abandoned a crown and a kingdom if there were not *some motive* which she dared not avow? But this was not all: if she went away it was pulling us down who had upheld her; and it was losing a most powerful means of mortifying and inflicting just punishment upon our political enemies. The papers relating to this negotiation were published in the newspapers on the morning of the 20. of June. The people did not stop to look at the *terms*: it was enough for them that she had consented to go on *any terms*. They believed that she had so consented; and though she afterwards authorized Mr. Alderman Wood to publish; that she never had given her consent to go, I believed then, and I still believe, that she must have given her consent. The negotiations continued from 9. to 19. of June, and it is impossible to believe that she would not every day see what had been done, as all that was done had been done *in writing*. It was at this critical moment that I thought it necessary to make a private communication to the queen, and to lay before

her all the dangerous consequences of adopting the step which appeared to have been determined upon. I had written several letters to her before, and upon this occasion I wrote her the following :—

“ The humble individual who, with the greatest submission, begs leave again to address her Majesty, the Queen, has had much experience in matters affecting the public mind ; but he has never known that mind receive so violent a shock as that which has this day been given to it by the publication of the documents relating to the negotiation between the delegates of the King’s ministers and the legal advisers of her Majesty.

“ The feelings of respect which the writer entertains towards her Majesty, would restrain him, even if he had the power, from describing minutely the effect of that publication ; but he cannot refrain from stating that the promulgation of the document has fully answered the most sanguine hopes and expectations that her Majesty’s enemies can possibly have entertained ; and as he deems it more honourable to be thought wanting in good manners than destitute of feeling, he ventures to assure her Majesty, that the offer made in her Majesty’s name to *quit the country* has filled the women’s eyes with tears, and the men’s hearts with a feeling which never before existed in them with regard to her Majesty.

“ He implores her Majesty to be convinced, that no *terms*, no *conditions*, no *qualifications*, can, in the public opinion, remove the impression which consenting to abandon the country must necessarily make ; and, emboldened by his zeal in her Majesty’s cause, he ventures, even at the risk of incurring her displeasure, to express his anxious hope that nothing will induce her Majesty to adopt, *on any terms*, a course, the fatal consequences of which he can clearly foresee, but has not the heart to describe.

“ Wm. COBBETT,

“ *London, 23. of June, 1820.*”

429. This, observe, was on 20. of June; and, in the *Register* of 24. of June was a commentary on the late negotiations. Let it be observed, that the basis of those negotiations was this; that **THE QUEEN SHOULD RESIDE ABROAD.** It was upon that basis that she had consented to a negotiation! Upon this subject I published, on 23. of June; for, though the *Register* is dated on 24. it got to her hands on 23.; in that *Register* I published an article, the sum and substance of which was this; namely, that if she agreed, on any terms, to go abroad, her character would be blasted for ever; and, besides this, *her pension would be, and ought to be, taken from her.*

430. In this state of things, she being terrified at this idea, and (*she herself*) not having yet agreed to go away; or, at least, not having given a decisive answer upon the point, the ministers resorted to the House of Commons, who passed a resolution, on 22. of June, the substance of which resolution was, *that the queen might safely accept of the propositions of the ministers if the House of Commons advised her so to do*; which puts one in mind of a song in a play: "I am your priest, and your conscience is mine." They told her that her yielding to the propositions of the ministers, and going abroad, if done, with their advice, "would by no means *be understood to indicate any wish to shrink from inquiry*; but

“ would only be deemed to afford a renewed
 “ proof of the desire which her Majesty had
 “ been graciously pleased to express, to submit
 “ her own wishes to the authority of parlia-
 “ ment!”

431. I, who had read this resolution of 21.,
 and who knew that the resolution would be car-
 ried to her on 24., wrote to her the following let-
 ter early in the morning of 23., and took care
 that the letter reached her hands:—

“ The writer of this paper begs leave most humbly to state
 “ to her Majesty, the Queen :

“ That the understood determination of her Majesty ~~not to~~
 “ *go out of the kingdom* has produced a return of that public
 “ feeling which was, for a moment, banished, by the report of
 “ her Majesty’s intended departure ;—that the object of ‘ Mr.
 “ Wilberforce’s motion is clearly seen through by the public,
 “ who have no doubt that it is intended to effect, by suppli-
 “ cation, that which it is perceived cannot be effected by
 “ threats ;—that it is the opinion of the writer of this paper,
 “ that the *address*, moved by Mr. Wilberforce, is intended to
 “ place her Majesty in this dilemma, namely, *to give up to the*
 “ *ministers*, or to incur the ill-will of the Commons by rejecting
 “ their advice ; and that, therefore, much will depend on the
 “ answer which her Majesty shall be pleased to give to that
 “ address.

“ Her Majesty has too much sagacity not to perceive the
 “ *snare* (the snare). It is plain, that if the advice in this ad-
 “ dress be followed, another address will soon find its way to
 “ her Majesty, from the same, or from a similar, source, if
 “ any similar source be to be found in the world ; and that
 “ thus, if her Majesty give way now, address after address
 “ will follow, till her Majesty be addressed out of all her
 “ rights, and, finally, out of England.

“ To prevent a result so injurious to her Majesty and so
 “ afflicting to his Majesty’s loyal subjects, the writer of this

“ paper presumes humbly to express an opinion, that the answer to this address should *explicitly reject the advice contained in the address*; should do this in a manner calculated to flatter, rather than wound, the pride of the House; and should contain (*incidentally*) an expression of her Majesty’s fixed determination to remain at *home*—that word so sweet to English ears, and so electrifying if it were to come from the pen of her Majesty.

“ An answer of this description would; it is believed, put a stop to the efforts of Mr. Wilberforce. The writer of this paper, relying on her Majesty’s great goodness and indulgence, has enclosed a paper, containing what he thinks would be a suitable answer, which, with the greatest diffidence, he humbly submits to her Majesty’s superior judgment.

“ If her Majesty thought proper to yield, upon this occasion, to any feeling other than that of her benignity, her Majesty would have a fair opportunity of observing upon the singularity of the circumstance, that though her Majesty has *lately become Queen*, has also *lately arrived from abroad*, and has *still more recently sent a message to the House*, her Majesty has never heard from the House, until it thought proper to wait upon her with an humble address *advising her to surrender a part of her rights*.

“ The other course may, however, be the best; though the writer of this paper ought not to disguise from her Majesty that it is his decided opinion, that her Majesty will *gain nothing* by her being advised to appear to do any thing *out of complaisance to the Parliament*.

“ W. M. COBBETT.

“ London, 23. June, 1820.”

PROPOSED ANSWER.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
 “ Accept my most cordial thanks for this loyal, dutiful, and affectionate address.
 “ If, as to points immediately, peculiarly, and exclusively

“ affecting my own personal feelings, and dependent on a
“ sense of female honour, I decline to avail myself of advice
“ suggested by your kind solicitude for my comfort and tran-
“ quillity, be assured that I retain a firm and unalterable re-
“ nance on your integrity and wisdom.

“ In the many and deep sorrows and afflictions with which
“ it has pleased Providence to visit me, I have derived un-
“ speakable consolation from the warm and constant attach-
“ ment of this loyal, just, and generous people, of whom you
“ are the faithful representatives, and to cherish and live at
“ home with whom will be the chief happiness of the re-
“ mainder of my days.”

432. On the 24., the day after this letter was written, the deputation of the Commons, consisting of WILBERFORCE, STUART WORTLEY, Sir THOMAS ACLAND, and BANKES, waited upon the queen, by order of the House, with the address, or rather resolution, of the 22. BROUGHAM, and the rest of her lawyers, had prepared an answer; but the queen had got her answer written upon paper, laid upon the table in the room into which the lawyers were to be shown. The answer was not that which I had written, nor did it express a determination not to quit England: it was badly hooked together; but it contained the main thing, namely, that in a case *where her honour was concerned, she would not allow them to be judges, and that she was determined not to consent to the sacrifice of any of the essential privileges as queen.* Upon this occasion the queen was cheered by the news of what happened to the deputation. They were

hooted, and were actually *spitten upon*, by such masses of people as are seen no where but in London. Men were appointed to carry long poles with green bags suspended from the ends of them; and the coachmen of the deputies were compelled to go at a snail's pace, in order that the deputies might have the benefit of hearing the sentiments of the people. This scene took place in one of the PORTLAND streets, at the house of Lady ANNE HAMILTON, where the queen then lodged. Still, however, there was great anxiety entertained, and particularly by me, that she would be prevailed on to go abroad; and, therefore, on the 25. of June, I wrote her the following letter :

" The writer of this paper begs leave most humbly to state
" to her Majesty, the Queen :

" That her Majesty's answer to the resolution of the House
" of Commons has given great satisfaction to the public, in as
" far as it contains a rejection of the advice of the House;
" that, however, great *anxiety* still prevails on the subject of
" her Majesty's possible intentions as to *going abroad* ; that the
" public are all alive upon this great point ; that it is of the
" utmost importance that *no doubt* should longer exist on the
" subject ; that all such doubt would at once be removed by
" an expression of her Majesty, on the *first proper occasion*,
" that her Majesty has resolved *not to go abroad*.

" The writer of this paper thinks it right, that her Majesty
" should be informed, that her strength and safety lie in the
" public opinion ; that the Parliament will do nothing for her
" except as it is influenced by the public opinion ; that the
" ministers were *checked* only by that decided expression of
" public opinion which her Majesty's arrival called forth, and
" for which they were not prepared ; that to yield to anything

“ in order to please the Parliament would only displease the public the more on that very account; that the four members who carried the resolution to her Majesty very narrowly escaped being personally handled by the people; that they made their escape all four in one carriage; that the people *leur crachoient à la figure* (spit in their faces) as they drove along the street; that these four worthy delegates of the House returned home actually covered with spittle; that it is clear, therefore, that to recede at the request of the Parliament would be to make a useless sacrifice.

“ It is very clearly seen by the public that her Majesty’s enemies want but one thing, namely, to get her out of the country; because they well know that she would then be instantly deserted by the people. It is clear also, that unless her Majesty go away, nobody can get money or honours by advising her to go! For these reasons it will necessarily follow, that every art which hatred can suggest, and which perfidy can put in motion, will be employed to induce her Majesty to depart, or, at any rate, to persuade the people that she is willing to depart. The effect even of this last would be most injurious to her Majesty; and, therefore, effectual measures should as speedily as possible be taken to remove from the public mind all doubt on the subject.

“ The Ministers are in a state of difficulty not possible to describe. They cannot extricate themselves from that difficulty. They are at the mercy of the Queen, who has nothing to do but to remain in her present attitude for some days. Her Majesty ought to make no overtures for negotiation; and if her Majesty find that the Parliament is about to be prorogued, she ought then to make, before they separate, a formal demand of her rights and privileges, of which a full detail ought to be given.

“ If this line be pursued with firmness, a short time will give her Majesty the full enjoyment of all her rights and privileges; and, in the meanwhile, her Majesty is safe in the love and admiration of this generous people, who are all for her, in every part of the kingdom.

“ W. M. COBBETT...

“ 25. June, 1830.”

438. This letter was not without its salutary and most complete effect. It recommends her taking an early opportunity publicly to express her determination not to go abroad any more. This opportunity was very soon offered her, in an address to her from the city of London, by the lord mayor, aldermen, common council, and livery, and agreed to at a common hall. This address, and the answer, will be found in *Cobbett's Register*, volume 36, page 1287; and in this answer she made the declaration, in these words: "In the many and deep sorrows and afflictions with which it has pleased Providence to visit me, I have derived unspeakable consolation from the zealous and constant attachment of this warm-hearted, just, and generous people, to live at home with, and to cherish whom, will be the chief happiness of the remainder of my days."

434. Thus she was fixed: thus this grand point was decided, to the lacerating mortification of all the sons and daughters of corruption; and to the mortification of nobody more than to that of the "legal advisers of her majesty"; who were fairly beaten here, and beaten, too, by the man whom they hated more than they hated adders and toads. I will not pretend that vindictive feeling had nothing to do with my conduct upon this occasion. I had been two years in jail, and had paid a thousand pounds fine besides, for an act which merited the

applause and admiration of all good men, and this king had my thousand pounds in his pocket. I had been driven across the Atlantic ; I had been stripped of every farthing I had in the world ; I had been torn from my farm, to earn which I had worked like a horse for twenty years ; I had been made a bankrupt, and was then in the rules of the King's Bench, in consequence of these two Houses, and this king, having passed laws to enable SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH to put me in a dungeon at their pleasure. I will not pretend that the feeling created by these injuries had no effect upon my conduct here ; and, for what purpose has God placed resentment in the breast of man, if it be not to prevent oppression, by showing those who possess *power* that they are not always safe to exercise it in the doing of wrong ? How would it be possible for justice long to continue in the world, if those who have power were *always safe* from the resentment of the oppressed ?

435. But, leaving this out of the question, what part more friendly could I have acted towards this poor queen ? The king had distinctly *accused her*, in his message to the two Houses, he had consented to her having a pension, and not to prosecute her, if *she would go away and live out of the kingdom*. Where is there a human being who would not have concluded that she was conscious of her guilt, if she had gone

away? No matter on what terms: every one would have concluded that she was conscious of guilt; and that very people who sustained her with so much generosity, and such matchless resolution, would never have consented to her receiving one farthing out of their earnings in the way of pension. Therefore, I was a faithful adviser of the queen, at the same time I availed myself of her cause to further what I deemed the political interests of the people.

436. The queen having come to this determination, the prosecution of her was determined on. And it was determined to proceed by way of *act of parliament*; that is to say, to pass a law, pronouncing the queen guilty of adulterous intercourse, and to degrade her from the rank of queen; and further, to dissolve the marriage between her and the king. This mode of trying and of punishing criminals is by no means new. It has often been resorted to in past ages; and there may arise cases when it is proper to employ it. I do not say that it was improper to do it in this case, had there been good grounds for the proceeding. Such an act is called a "*Bill of Pains and Penalties*"; and such a bill, in the following words, was brought into the House of Lords on the 6. of July, 1820.

THE BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES.

"Whereas, in the year 1814, her Majesty, Caroline Amelia
"Elizabeth, then Princess of Wales, and now Queen Con-

“ sort of this realm, being at Milan, in Italy, engaged in her service, in a menial situation, one Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, a foreigner of low station, who had before served in a similar capacity :

“ And whereas, after the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, had so entered the service of her Royal Highness the said Princess of Wales, a most unbecoming and disgusting intimacy commenced between her Royal Highness and the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomi Bergami :

“ And whereas her Royal Highness not only advanced the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, to a high station in her Royal Highness's household, and received him into her service, and that in high and confidential situations about her Royal Highness's person, but bestowed upon him other great and extraordinary marks of favour and distinction, obtained for him orders of knighthood and titles of honour, and conferred upon him a pretended order of knighthood, which her Royal Highness had taken upon herself to institute, without any just or lawful authority.

“ And whereas her said Royal Highness, whilst the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, was in her said service, further unmindful of her exalted rank and station, and of her duty to your Majesty, and wholly regardless of her own honour and character, conducted herself towards the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, and in other respects, both in public and private, in the various places and countries which her Royal Highness visited, with indecent and offensive familiarity and freedom, and carried on a licentious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse with the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, which continued for a long period of time during her Royal Highness's residence abroad, by which conduct of her said Royal Highness, great scandal and dishonour have been brought upon your Majesty's family and this kingdom. Therefore, to manifest our deep sense of such scandalous, disgraceful, and vicious conduct on the part of her said Majesty, by which she has violated the duty she owed to your Majesty, and has res-

“ ~~deared herself unworthy of the exalted rank and station of~~
 “ Queen Consort of this realm, and to evince our just regard
 “ for the dignity of the Crown and the honour of this nation,
 “ ~~we, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the~~
 “ ~~Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament~~
 “ ~~assembled, do hereby intreat your Majesty that it may be~~
 “ ~~enacted, and be it enacted by the King’s most excellent Ma-~~
 “ ~~jesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spi-~~
 “ ~~ritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parlia-~~
 “ ~~ment assembled, and by the authority of the same, that her~~
 “ ~~said Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, from and after~~
 “ ~~the passing of this Act, shall be and is hereby deprived of~~
 “ ~~the title of Queen, and of all the prerogatives, rights, privi-~~
 “ ~~leges, and exemptions appertaining to her as Queen Consort~~
 “ ~~of this realm; and that her said Majesty shall, from and after~~
 “ ~~the passing of this Act, for ever be disabled and rendered~~
 “ ~~incapable of using, exercising, and enjoying the same, or~~
 “ ~~any of them; and moreover, that the marriage between~~
 “ ~~his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth be, and~~
 “ ~~the same is, hereby from henceforth for ever wholly dis-~~
 “ ~~solved, annulled, and made void, to all intents, construc-~~
 “ ~~tions, and purposes whatsoever.~~”

437. Let it be observed, that the queen refused the
 offers made by Lord HUTCHINSON, at St. OMERS,
 on the 31. of June; that she arrived in London
 on the 6.; that the king sent his message to the
 two Houses, containing an accusation against her,
 on the 6.; that she rejected the advice of the
 House of Commons on the 24.; that she posi-
 tively assured the city of London, that she
 would never quit England; on the 29.; and that
 the bill of pains and penalties was brought in on
 the 6. of July: so that it is quite clear, that if
 she would have consented to go away, she might
 have had fifty thousand a year of our money to

spend upon the continent, and might have avoided all prosecution whatsoever. But now came her trial, which, being resolved on, threw the whole nation into a ferment by way of preparation for it. It was known very quickly, that the witnesses against her were almost all foreigners, and chiefly Italians; that their depositions had been taken at MILAN, by agents sent out by authority of the king; that the witnesses were about to be brought to England; and that the trial would take place publicly in the House of Lords, and her fate be decided by a majority of the votes of that house. The trial began, or rather the proceedings began, on Thursday, the 17. of August 1820; and it ended on Friday the 10. of November. There was a seat prepared for the queen on one side of the House, while the place for examining the witnesses was at the other side of the House, both being at the bar. The attorney-general, GIFFORD, and the solicitor-general, COPLEY, conducted the cause against the queen. She was defended (if defence it ought to be called) by her two "legal advisers," BROUGHAM and DENMAN.

438. Between the 6. of July, when the bill was brought in and read a first time, and the commencement of the proceedings on the 17. of August, *the press* and *the people* were by no means idle; nor was the queen herself idle. She took a house at HAMMERSMITH, on the banks of

the THAMES, called BRANDENBURGH HOUSE. To this house *processions* of one sort or another, with addresses, went every day, except Sundays; and sometimes four or five of a day, each containing, on an average, thirty thousand people. She was soon obliged to appoint certain days in the week for receiving addresses. The other days she devoted to *rides* into different parts of the city and its environs. So that, except in the hours of darkness, she lived in an incessant noise and bustle. Her husband, "THE SOVEREIGN," had some *noise* to endure too; but it was of a very different description. He passed his time between his palace in PALL-MALL and WINDSOR PARK, where he had what was called "a *cottage*," which had cost probably fifty or a hundred thousand pounds; having a horse barrack close to it, filled with horse soldiers, surrounded by two barricades, or piquet fences, from ten to twelve feet high; one of these at a distance from the other; the entrance through each of which was guarded by a watch-house, and a high gate constantly locked up. Beyond these, at a considerable distance, was a common park fence, forming another circle of defence, with a locked-up gate, and a guard there also. The whole of these fences, except the last, were hidden by thickly-planted trees and shrubs; so that "THE SOVEREIGN" was perfectly safe, at any rate,

in the park; and as to his palace in town, it was surrounded by barracks; and something little short of a battalion were constantly sentinels in every direction from that palace, and at that palace. Nevertheless, the people contrived to make him hear the sound of their voices; and to make him feel what they thought of him. In their processions to and from London to address the queen, they generally stopped opposite his palace, and in shouts to have made him hear if he had been in the clouds, they made him acquainted with their way of thinking, and with their resolution with regard to him. He was compelled sometimes to go from London to the "cottage," and from the cottage to London. He took care to move in the dark; but it was surprising with what accuracy the people ascertained his intended movements, and how duly they saluted him as he passed; and this state of things actually continued uninterrupted from the time of the arrival of the queen, until after her trial was over, and until after her following of that fatal advice, which, finally, sent her out of the world.

439. The bill of pains and penalties excited the rage of the people: it shocked all their hereditary prejudices: it was publishing a bill of indictment on 6. of July, to come on for trial on the 17. of August: it might inflict

death: the indictment was founded on secret evidence: the Lords were the grand jury, the petty jury, and the judges. In short, this mode of proceeding was the very worst that the parties could have adopted: the people would have waited patiently for a trial of crim. con. before a judge and jury; but, from this very mode of proceeding, they concluded that the queen was innocent, and that her prosecutors knew it.

440. The bill had been read a FIRST TIME on the 6. of July, by a great majority of votes of the Lords. It was ordered to be read a second time on the 17. of August; and that was the time for the calling in of witnesses to support the charges made against the queen. The motion for the second reading was made by Lord LIVERPOOL, and was opposed by the Duke of LEXINGTON, when they appeared 41 for the duke's amendment, and 206 for the second reading of the bill. The bill having been read a second time, Lord LIVERPOOL moved for counsel to be called in and heard in support of the preamble of the bill. It was suggested by some of the Lords, that a question should be put to the judges, whether the queen, supposing her to have been guilty of adultery, had not committed high treason, under the act of Edward the Third? The judges determined that BERGAMI, being a foreigner, not within the king's allegiance, could not, in a

foreign country, commit high treason against the king; and that, therefore, the adultery not, being an act of high treason in him, could not, be an act of high treason in the queen. After some further preliminary disputation on the part of the lawyers on both sides, the attorney-general, GIFFORD, on the 19. of August; *opened his case, and made his charges.* But, before we proceed to remark further on the trial, an important preliminary circumstance, which took place out of doors, is to be mentioned.

441. During the recess of the House, a publication had been put forth, entitled "A PEEP AT THE PEERS," giving all their names alphabetically, and stating against each name, *all the sums of money which they and the several branches of their family received out of the taxes.* Of this publication, which was sold at the price of *two-pence*, it was said, that more than a *hundred thousand* copies were sold. It was in every village in the kingdom; but this was followed by a publication of much greater effect; namely, *a letter from the queen herself, addressed to the king*, which was dated at BRANDENBURGH HOUSE, on the 7. of August; but which was not published until the 16. of August; that is to say, the day before the Lords met for the trial. It is said that nearly half a million copies of this letter were printed in the United States of America.

Every newspaper in England had it ; and it is supposed, that two millions of it were published in this kingdom in the form of a pamphlet. In this letter the queen gave a history of her treatment, from the time of her marriage, to the time when she was writing ; she described the state of the House of Peers, as to their dependence on the king ; she described the sort of court of justice which she was about to be tried by ; and she expressed her determination not to submit quietly to any sentence that it might pass against her. The people, who were enraged quite enough before, were driven perfectly frantic by this letter, which was ascribed by one of the newspapers to the pen of the late learned "Dr. PARR"! It was no matter who was the real author ; the queen's name was at the bottom of it ; and it produced all the effects which could possibly have been wished for by the friends of the queen.

442. It was in this temper of the people that the House met to proceed on the trial, which, as I observed before, the attorney-general commenced by his opening speech on the 19. of August. His witnesses, twenty-six in number, were mostly Italians, Swiss, and Germans, whose depositions had been taken at MILAN. These witnesses had been brought to England some time before ; but, the people of DOVER were with great difficulty prevented from sending them back again by

water, without the assistance of boats or ships. By some means or other they got to London; but, large as London is, innumerable as are the foreigners that come to London; endless as is the number of taverns, hotels, and lodging-houses of various descriptions, no rest for the sole of their foot could they find in that immense London. For the safety of their own houses people drove them out as they would have driven out snakes. By means of immense sums employed for the purpose, they were got away to the town of HARWICH; and there *shipped off to Holland*, to be kept in readiness to be brought to the trial. As long as any of them have breath in their bodies, they will never cease to remember England. This circumstance alone is sufficient to give any one a sufficient idea of the state of England. Not only London, but every country town and village in England, was upon the lookout for Italians. So that the people of that nation were in actual peril of kicks and cuffs wherever they were seen. There was, then, great difficulty of bringing the witnesses to the spot; and by *land* they never could have been brought. *Sea* operations were, therefore, resolved on by the servants of "THE SOVEREIGN."

443. There is an immense mass of building at Westminster, called "*Westminster Hall*," where the two Houses of Parliament, the four courts of justice, and several other public offices, are in-

cluded under one roof, covering an immense space, abutting on one side towards the THAMES, and having an open space between the building and that river. A part of this space is a spot called "COTTON GARDENS." Into this place, which had been fitted up with temporary buildings, for the purpose of cooking for the coronation-banquet (which coronation was to have taken place in July, if the queen had not come), the witnesses had been brought from Holland, coming up the Thames in an armed boat, and landed at night. Nothing could get at them on the land side, without battering-rams or cannon. On the water-side there was a wall of twenty feet high, and in the THAMES, just opposite, a vessel carrying from sixteen to twenty guns. At the distance of about six hundred yards to the north of the House of Lords, there was a barrack of foot-soldiers; another barrack, similarly finished, at five hundred yards to the west; at a mile, a horse barrack to the west; at about two miles to the north, another horse barrack; a strong body of horse-guards at about four hundred yards; a corps of yeomanry cavalry paraded the streets, with their swords drawn, to the east about four hundred yards; soldiers and police innumerable, constantly drawn up in every street and passage leading to the House.

444: Such were the preparations for the trial; the witnesses, safely deposited in "COTTON GAR."

DEN," which, from a cooking apartment for the purpose of furnishing a banquet for the royal husband's coronation, had been converted into a place for lodging and for providing messes for the witnesses against his wife; from this real fortress the witnesses were conducted into the House of Lords by a subterraneous passage, made for the purpose; and in this state it was that the government was situated when the trial began, by that opening speech of the attorney-general which I have before mentioned. His speech made a great impression upon the public; it was a disgraceful detail, to be sure. I was in Hertfordshire at the time when the speech was made. Coming home, and finding what the impression had been, I wrote and published an *answer* to it, on the 23. of August. Of this answer more than a hundred thousand copies were sold: it was printed and reprinted all over the kingdom; and it stayed the plague; it gave a proper turn to the public mind; and, indeed, it rendered harmless all that could be afterwards said against the queen, even by the solicitor-general, who was, unquestionably, the most able lawyer in the kingdom. After this the swearings of the witnesses produced no more effect upon the minds of the people than the cacklings of so many geese would have produced. One five hundredth part of what these witnesses swore to would have convicted any woman upon earth, if the witnesses

had been believed; but not one word of their swearings was believed by the people of England, who looked upon every one of their tales as a complete fabrication, and who regarded every man as a fool or a knave who pretended to believe them. There never was a trial like this before: all that was sworn to passed for nothing; and it was a lucky thing for the queen that the witnesses were brought to COTTON GARDEN; if they had not, there would have been a division of opinion excited by the rumours that had been afloat about the queen; but the *positive swearings* of witnesses who had been collected at MILAN, by the husband's agents, who had been brought up the THAMES in an armed boat; lodged in a redoubt; and brought into the witness-box through a subterraneous passage; these positive swearings, especially when anticipated by my answer to the attorney-general, removed every fragment of doubt from the minds of the people; and, in the exact proportion that the Italians swore that she was guilty, the people swore that she was innocent, in which they were, too, most nobly supported by the press. The newspapers in general did their duty well: many writers, in pamphlets, most ably defended the cause of the queen. I was only one of the many, and have no desire to arrogate to myself any particular merit. All the people, in short, did their duty well. The queen was accompanied, every

day that she went to the House, by thousands upon thousands of people; zealous young men attended her on horseback; others, having the appearance of gentlemen from their dress, led the horses of her carriage; and it may be truly said, that she was ably and bravely defended by everybody but her own lawyers, whose defence was the feeblest, the worst managed, and the least effectual of any that was ever offered in the world; which was fully proved by me at the time; and which proof may be seen by any one who will look at the 37th volume of the *Register*.

445. We now come to the curious conclusion of this trial. The bill had been read a second time, or rather a motion for rescinding it had been lost on the 17. of August; but before it was read a second time, the evidence had to be heard in support of it. After the evidence had been heard, and after the defence and the reply, the Lords debated on the question of the second reading, and brought their debate to a close on the 6. of November, when there appeared for the second reading 123, against it 95; so that the second reading was carried by a majority of 28. After this the House went into a committee on the bill. Some of the bishops, and some other peers, objected to the divorce clause. For that clause there were 129, against it 62. On the 10. of November, Lord LIVERPOOL moved the third reading of the bill. For the third reading there

were 108, against it 99. Some of those who voted for the second reading objected to vote for the whole bill, with the divorce clause in it, and would not vote for it because it retained that clause. There was yet one question to be put on this bill, which was, "*that this bill do now pass*"; and here the ministers *shrunk back*! Lord LIVERPOOL said, "that if the third reading had been carried by a majority as considerable as the second was, he would have persevered; but with so small a majority, and in the present state of the country, he and his colleagues had come to the determination not to carry the bill further; and he therefore moved *that this bill do pass this day six months!*"

446. Thus, then, though they voted her guilty three times, they flinched when they came to the point, which must have brought them to an open contest with the people. They had learned wisdom at last, at any rate; and they had now to reflect on how much wiser it would have been not to yield in the first instance to the importunities of those who urged them on to this proceeding. To describe the joy of the people, from one end of England and Wales to the other, is utterly impossible. The demonstrations began by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells, in the middle of the night, in and about London, the news not having spread about until nine or ten o'clock. Illuminations, such as never were

seen before, reaching every cottage in the kingdom, and every little obscure hole or shed in and about great towns; these were only a part of the demonstrations of joy; a small part of the mortification which "THE SOVEREIGN" had to endure.

447. The queen was now on the pinnacle of fortune, where she might have stood, and where she would have been sustained by the people; but, alas! down she came as rapidly as she had risen: a few months saw her an object little interesting to that same zealous people; and a few months more saw her dead body conveyed out of the kingdom. To describe the causes of this change it is now my duty.

448. In the month of October the courtiers got about her. Some of the peers had defended her with great zeal; these, seeing that she was again in the hands of the reformers; knowing the use that they would make of her, if she remained in this country, set to work to get her out of the hands of the reformers; and they did it very artfully. They knew that a very sore place was, with her, the *neglect* which she had received at the hands of the nobility; and they imagined, and rightly imagined, that they could soon bring her back again, by showing her marks of friendship and respect. The first step was (*when they saw how the trial would end!*) to persuade her to soften the asperity of her lan-

guage in her answers to addresses; the next step, to place about her, as CHAMBERLAINS, CRAVEN and GELL, who had been with her on the Continent; the next step, to induce her to *affront the people*; and, lastly, to get her, if possible, *out of the country quietly*. These manoeuvres were begun before the trial was over; or, at least, before the proceedings were closed. It appeared afterwards to have been known about the middle of October that the bill would be got rid of in somewhat the manner in which it was got rid of; but this was kept a close secret from the queen. She was terrified by the idea of being found guilty, and was told that she might prevent this by withdrawing herself from the people. This, therefore, she began to do. CRAVEN and GELL were got about her person again. She began to seclude herself from public view, and to lay a restriction on the presenting of addresses to her. She first issued a sort of order, that no addresses should be presented to her but on one fixed day in the week.

449. In this state of things I wrote the following letter, and sent it to Lady ANNE HAMILTON, which will show what the suspicions of the people were, and what were my suspicions at this time :

“ Brompton, Sunday evening, 22. Oct., 1820.

“ MADAM,—The reluctance which I naturally must have
 “ to intrude myself upon your ladyship, to whom I have not
 “ the honour of being personally known, could have been

“made to yield by nothing but by my conviction of the importance of the matter that I have to lay before you; of the reality and magnitude of the danger that I apprehend, and of the necessity of the means of prevention being immediately applied.

“Assuring your ladyship of my perfect respect, I, without further ceremony, proceed to inform you; that, on Friday morning, and again yesterday morning, I received information, of which the following is the substance: 1. That the ministers fully expect that the queen will be prevailed on to quit the kingdom: 2. That overtures have actually been made to her Majesty, for this purpose: 3. That these overtures have been received without indignation.

“This information, though coming from the enemy, comes to me in such a way as to command my serious attention, if not my implicit belief; and the effect on my mind has been a conviction that duty calls upon me to state the information in my next Register, and to make thereon such representations, to use such arguments, and to draw such conclusions, as shall appear to me necessary to awaken watchfulness and caution in the public.

“It occurred to me, however, that before I did this, it might be proper to communicate my intention to Mr. Alderman Wood, and to obtain from him, if he chose to give it, positive information of the truth or falsehood of my information. But, finding that the Alderman has left town; that he will not return until Tuesday, and that I shall probably not be able to see him till Wednesday, when it will certainly be too late for my purpose, I have thought it right to make this communication to your ladyship, and to inform you, that my son, who is the bearer of this, will wait upon you again at ten o'clock on Tuesday morning to receive any answer, verbal or written, that you may be pleased to give to this letter; or, in case your ladyship should deem it improper to give any answer at all, to ascertain that you do not deem any answer necessary. Candour, however, compels me explicitly to state to your ladyship, that, unless I receive, on Tuesday morning, a positive assurance from you, that her Majesty will not, under any circumstances, leave the kingdom, I shall, in my next Register, proceed to the perform-

“ance of that duty towards the public, which duty I have
 “above described, and the neglect to perform which would
 “make me a deluder and deceiver of that public.

“I am convinced that if, *under any circumstances*, her Ma-
 “jesty quit the kingdom again, she will not only be totally
 “ruined in the estimation of the nation and of the world, but
 “will very soon cease to receive from this country any income
 “whatever. The strong ground of her Majesty; that which
 “outweighed all that could be brought against her; that
 “which formed the main basis of my answer to the attorney-
 “general; that which spoke home to the heart of the nation,
 “was, *her coming to England*; but it was *her coming for ever*!
 “I beseech your ladyship to observe that! Let it only be
 “said; let it only be suspected, that she is willing to go back:
 “and away goes the sheet-anchor of her defence and of her
 “hopes! The public mind will take a turn; it will go back-
 “ward as fast as it has gone forward. The people will never
 “believe that *any one can like any country so well as England*;
 “and can they endure the thought of the Queen leaving them
 “to go, by choice, to live amongst the perjurers, suborners,
 “the picklocks, and assassins of Italy, and to spend their
 “money, too, on such a people! Can they ever be made to
 “believe that the Queen is willing to do this, except from mo-
 “tives such as those which her base calumniators have im-
 “puted to her? I beg your ladyship to be assured, that the
 “bare suspicion of her Majesty *being willing to do this* would
 “at once lay her prostrate at the mercy of her enemies.

“Already do the quick-sighted public wonder at the great
 “change in her Majesty’s deportment and tone! They can-
 “not account for her *seclusion* from public view; they are sur-
 “prised at her *patient silence* under the *exposure of the con-*
 “*spiracy*; they think they discover a *compromising spirit* in
 “the language and conduct of her lawyers; they are sur-
 “prised at the *mollified language* of her answers to addresses;
 “and are astonished at *praises bestowed upon lawyers* who have
 “extolled her enemies to the skies. But let them (which
 “God forbid!) only suspect that her Majesty has *listened to*
 “*proposals for her quitting the country*, and she may bid an
 “*everlasting farewell to security and peace*.

“It will give me great pain to do any thing calculated to

"excite such a suspicion; but, while I am faithful to her Majesty, I must also be faithful to the people; and, that I may act agreeably to my fidelity to both, I have taken the liberty to trouble your ladyship with this letter.

"With great admiration of your long and faithful and heroic attachment to her Majesty, when shunned by all the rest of those who ought to have stood by her,

"I am your ladyship's most obedient

"and most humble servant,

"WM. COBBETT.

"To Lady Ann Hamilton,
"Brandenburgh-House."

450. Having received no satisfactory answer to this letter, I proceeded, in the next *Register* but one, to express, in pretty broad hints, my opinion as to what was going on; but, in the meanwhile, the sad assurance came forth, in an official form, as follows:

"Mr. K. Craven and Sir William Gell, Vice Chamberlains to the Queen, are commanded to announce, that, in consequence of the lateness of the season, and the *probable approach of wet weather*, her Majesty wishes to decline receiving any future addresses in person, after Monday next, the 30th instant. It is nevertheless to be understood that her Majesty by no means intends to *exclude* the presentation of such addresses as may be at this moment in preparation, and which, if not ready by Monday, her Majesty will receive and answer without the ceremony of a formal deputation."

"Brandenburgh-House,

"Wednesday, 25. October."

451. This was decisive: this could leave no doubt in the mind of any man: this actually forbade people to carry addresses to her any more; and though a shuffling explanation of it came out

afterwards, every one could see that a bargain had been made to cast off the people ; and, indeed, to go abroad. In order, however, to put this to the proof, an address from the parish of ST. GEORGE, HANOVER-SQUARE was presented to the queen while these suspicions were afloat. In this address, which was contrived for the purpose, she was very explicitly told of her *expressed resolution to resist oppression* ; and another part of the address expressed a *firm reliance on her resolution not to quit the country*. Her answer carefully evaded both these points. On the 20., three days after this prohibitory notification, SAXE COBURG, who had not been near her before, visited her ; on the 29., she was visited by the Duke of SUSSEX, and Lord and Lady FITZWILLIAM, and by Lord MILTON. On the 7. of November, she went to the House of Lords, and there delivered a protest, which contained the following wonderful passage, “ *unless the course of these unexampled proceedings should bring the bill before the other branch of the legislature, she will make no reference whatever to the treatment experienced by her during the last twenty-five years.*”

452. Those who could advise the taking of this step were capable of any thing. This was saying, that, if they passed the bill, she would make an exposure that should do infinite mischief to the kingly part of the government : and

that, if they did not pass the bill, she would hold her tongue !

453. The reader has already seen that the bill did not pass ; and he has now to see the progress of her fall, which began immediately after the celebration of her triumph, in the manner before-mentioned.

454. The Whig faction flocked about her, directly after the abandonment of the bill ; and her lawyers, who now called themselves her " constitutional advisers," belonged to that faction, who thought to get possession of power by her instrumentality, she having the people at her back ; but the people, who hated this faction more than the other, the moment they saw the faction about her, troubled her with no more addresses ; they suffered her to remain very tranquil at BRANDENBURGH HOUSE ; the faction agitated questions about her in parliament, about which the people cared not a straw ; what she was doing soon became as indifferent to them as what any other person of the royal family was doing ; the people began again to occupy themselves with the business of obtaining a parliamentary reform ; and her way of life, and her final fate, soon became objects of curiosity much more than of interest with the people ; and my belief was, and is, that she would have gone out of the country, if she could have done it, in the first place without insult from the people, and infamy certain ;

and I am not sure that she would not have braved even these, if it had not been for the fear of losing the fifty thousand pounds a year, which had been granted to her by the parliament, at the recommendation of the king; and the loss of which I had so distinctly told her would be one consequence of her quitting the country.

455. From this time, December 1820, to July 1821, she was hardly heard of by the people; but in the month of July 1821, the king having resolved upon that public coronation, from which he had been driven by her arrival, in 1820, she put forward her claim to be crowned as queen, along with her husband. Here her "constitutional advisers" were again at work. And they managed the matter so well, that the termination was, her being baffled and covered with disgrace. The ministers got up *shows*, fireworks, all sorts of things, to cause the women to come forth as well as the men, and to get them as far as possible from the scene of the coronation, which took place, of course, in Westminster Abbey church, and the banquet in Westminster-Hall. Every precaution was taken in case the people should stir in her favour. There were twenty-one regiments of soldiers brought into, or near to, the metropolis on that day. The streets were barricaded in a way that almost made it impossible for any body but soldiers on duty to move with safety to their lives. The peril of approach-

ing the scene of the coronation was so great, that not a twentieth part of the seats, which had, at a great expense, been erected for the purpose of viewing the procession, were filled ; and seats, for which twenty pounds had been asked, were let for five shillings.

456. But there needed none of this warlike preparation ; for, though the queen went and presented herself at the door of the Abbey church, she went almost literally alone ! How different from that day twelvemonth was her situation ! When she got to the door, and made an attempt to enter, she was actually thrust back by *the hands of a common prize-fighter* ; and she had to turn back, unattended by the people, unaccompanied with a single cheer, to expire with a broken heart at BRANDENBURGH HOUSE, which she did in twenty days afterwards.

457. The people in the country reviled the Londoners for having suffered the coronation to take place without her being included ; but the Londoners, who had behaved, as to this cause of the queen, in a manner to merit boundless and everlasting praise, had better means of judging than the people in the country ; and besides this, no one, except her advisers, ever heard a word of her intention to go to the Abbey : and even I, who was as likely to hear of the intention as people in general, and who lived just half way between her husband's palace and her house on

the great road, never heard a word of any such intention, until after she had been thrust back from the door of the Abbey, and had returned to her own house, which house she never again quitted till she was brought out of it a corpse. It was not the exclusion from the coronation; it was not the having been thrust back by a rude ruffian at the door of the Abbey; it was not these that killed her; it was **THE ABANDONMENT ON THE PART OF THE PEOPLE**, who had upheld her with such fidelity and such generosity, and who now had all the appearance of having completely abandoned her; and that abandonment she had to ascribe to the fatal advice of the Whigs and their tools, which induced her to drive that people from her with every appearance of disdain.

458. There cannot be the smallest doubt that this repulse at the coronation, accompanied with the total neglect of the people, was the immediate and sole cause of her death. If she could have been told what was the real state of the country, her sound understanding would have given her hope. But her unhappy state compelled her to see with other eyes, and hear with other ears. If there had been a man to describe to her clearly and fully all the circumstances relating *to the state of the country*; to show her how those circumstances must have operated in her favour

and against all her enemies ; to show her what a tower of strength and rock of safety she had in that popularity of which her enemies were wholly destitute ; to portray, in strong colours, the brilliant prospect that was before her ; to prove to her that that prospect was founded in reason ; and to point out to her how she might employ her means so as to make herself a great actor in the approaching crisis of the nation's affairs : if this had been the case, hope would have cheered her, and made her look with disdain on the reptiles who kept aloof from her only because they did not foresee that which she would have foreseen.

459. Alas ! she had *no hope* ; no prospect of good ; she saw nothing that promised her anything but a species of voluntary imprisonment for life. She saw her enemies triumphing, and, to her, they appeared to be in a course of endless and unchecked prosperity and insolence. Despair seized upon that mind which had so long been sustained by hope, and her appearance at the Abbey was the last effort of a heart already half-shivered to pieces. It was in vain for the people, or for any individual who might happen to possess talent to serve her, to perceive the dangers of her situation. It was in vain for us to wish to save her. She was beyond our reach. Like men on the beach who behold the wrecked

mariner sinking, we could do nothing but clasp our powerless hands together, and offer her our tears and lamentations.

460. When DEATH comes, then, at any rate, persecution generally ceases. Not so in this case, however. The queen's body, by her will, was to be carried to Brunswick, and there interred. The first stage, on the road to HARWICH, whence it was to pass across the sea, was ROMFORD, in Essex; from Brandenburgh-House to ROMFORD the road was straight through the heart of London and Westminster, passing by the husband's palace, and passing by St. PAUL's. The former was an object of great dread with the ministers, who endeavoured, therefore, to cause the body to be carried up a narrow street or lane, so as to reach the northern outskirts of London, and thus get into the ROMFORD-road without any particular marks of popular sorrow for the queen, and of popular indignation against those who had brought her to her untimely end. To effect this, troops in abundance were at the command of the conductors of the affair. The people, by tearing up the pavement and making trenches in the road, prevented the first attempt from succeeding. After three fights, and after killing two men, the instruments of power succeeded in getting the body into the beginning of the northern outskirts; but, at the end of about three quarters of a mile, they were stopped by a

barricade, which compelled them to yield ; and the people forced them to bring the body down, and take it through Temple-bar into the City ; to receive the Lord Mayor and the City authorities into the procession ; and to take it slowly along, the shops all closed, and every person that could be so dressed, dressed in mourning ; while the bells of all the numerous churches were tolling. It will be curious, by-and-by, to contrast this scene with the scene which we shall find exhibited on the day when her husband was buried ; and, when the reader has witnessed that contrast, he will exclaim : Sad indeed was her fate ; unfortunate indeed was she ; melancholy, beyond all example, was her end ; but, if I must choose, give me the end of the wife, ten thousand times told, before that of the husband !

CHAPTER IX.

Agricultural Distress.—Small Notes.—Death of Castlereagh.—Panic.—Changes in the Ministry.—Other Transactions and Events, from the year 1821 to the Death of the King, in June, 1830.

461. BEFORE we proceed with this chapter, we must take another careful look at the close of the seventh chapter, beginning our revision with paragraph 403, and reading along to the end of that chapter with great attention. We there find, that those who had for so many years contended with the people against parliamentary reform; that those, who, as we have just seen, prosecuted the unfortunate queen, passed a bill in 1819, commonly called PEELE'S Bill, of which bill we are now going to see a history of the effects. The inevitable tendency of it to ruin all debtors of every description; to double the weight of the taxes; and to destroy, indeed, all

the industrious classes, was noticed before. In 1820, even while the prosecution of the poor queen was going on, the aristocracy and clergy were deeply troubled with the effects of Peel's Bill. It was noticed before, that they had passed a law in 1815 *to keep up the price of corn*, in order to enable the farmers to pay their rents. It has been noticed before, that by passing a law to prevent wheat from being imported when English wheat was selling for less than eighty shillings a quarter, that they thought to make English wheat always sell for eighty shillings a quarter, at the least. The corn law continued to be in full force; yet, in 1822, English wheat, from having sold on an average of years, for twenty-five years past, at *twelve shillings* a bushel, fell down to an average, throughout the kingdom, of *four shillings and sixpence* a bushel; though not a handful of wheat had been imported into the kingdom, during three years previous to that time, and though none could be imported then.

462. The tables of the Houses of Parliament were loaded with crying petitions from the landholders and farmers, containing all sorts of absurdities, ascribing their distress to tithes and to poor-rates, though the former had existed for a thousand, and the latter for two hundred years, and had never been regarded as the cause of agricultural distress before. The Parliament was

extremely reluctant to do any thing that should amount to an acknowledgment of its stupidity in passing the bill of 1819; but, at last, threatened by the landlords with a great repeal of taxes, the ministers brought in a bill which, in effect, repealed the bill of 1819, for it authorized the issuing of one-pound notes for eleven years longer. The effect of this was quite surprising. "*Prosperity*," as it was called, returned in a short time: the whole country was filled with bubbles: prices rose to an enormous height: the landlords ceased to grumble; and Mr. ROBINSON, the then chancellor of the exchequer, at the close of a speech in which he vaunted this astonishing prosperity, and the wisdom of Parliament which had produced it, added most vehement censures on those who wished for what they called a reform of the assembly which had now proved itself so wise and so efficient. He was told by me not to boast; for that, in less than two years from that time, his bubble would burst, and his banks blow up.

463. This boasting took place in the month of February 1824, when it was dangerous even to hint at a want of wisdom in a boroughmonger Parliament. The gold had now pretty nearly disappeared from circulation; but, the wise Parliament having omitted, in the bill of 1822, to make bank-notes a legal tender, it was in the power of any one who held a bank-note to de-

mand gold in exchange for it. This was done in June 1825, by Mr. JONES, a parliamentary reformer of BRISTOL, whose name ought always to be pronounced with applause. The banker tendered Bank of England notes instead of gold, and refused to give gold. Of this Mr. JONES complained in a petition to the House of Commons; that petition produced a debate, and that debate blowed up Mr. ROBINSON's prosperity; for it taught the people that which not one man out of a thousand knew before; and that was, that the holder of a bank-note had a right to demand gold in exchange for it.

464. The thing staggered along from June till December: people going for gold in exchange for notes, soon rendered it difficult to get the gold; the greater the reluctance of the bankers to pay in gold, the greater the suspicions of the people, and their eagerness to obtain the gold. In December the banks began to break: above a hundred actually broke, including several bankers in London. This was called the PANIC; and panic it really was: never was trouble so general and alarm so great. It was by mere accident that the system did not go entirely to pieces. By efforts of a most extraordinary character the panic was checked; and the Government and Parliament, who had been the real cause of the mischief, now accused the country bankers of having produced it, by issuing those one-pound

notes, expressly to enable him to issue which, the bill of 1822 was passed !

465. Now, however, a bill was passed to suppress the issue of small notes in England and Wales, which bill has remained in force until this day (1834). The moment this bill was passed, down came prices again : hundreds of thousands of men were ruined by this new instance of the wisdom of Parliament. It is true that the Parliament left the one-pound notes still in Scotland and Ireland ; but that could do little or nothing for the payers of rents and taxes ; seeing that money must be kept at the same value in those countries as in England ; otherwise Scotch and Irish money would be at a discount ; and, therefore, prices in those countries could not be higher than the prices in England. Thus the nation was brought back to the prices and the state of 1822 ; and in that state it must continue, paying the fundholder more than twice as much as he ought to receive ; enabling him to rob the land-owners, the house-owners, and the performers of labour of all sorts ; enabling him to assail the funds of the church ; the funds of the poor ; and, in the end, making it necessary for him to produce a convulsion, in which must be destroyed all the ancient institutions of the country, unless the Parliament should have the wisdom and the resolution to put a stop to his ravages, by reducing his interest, according

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to the principles of reason and of justice. It is impossible for tongue or pen to describe the ruin and the misery which have been inflicted on the most meritorious part of the people by these arbitrary changes in the value of money. In the common intercourse of life it is not at all extraordinary to meet ten men in a day who have been reduced from opulence to beggary by these changes. The *poor-book* of every parish in England, without a single exception, contains the names of men brought to that book by these causes, and these causes alone; causes much more than sufficient to have destroyed a government, root and branch, if they had operated in any other country than this. Much as has been said and written all over the world in praise of the character of the people of this nation: all that has ever been said and written, though filling thousands of volumes, falls short of that which would be due to the fortitude with which this people has endured these calamities. It must be said, however, that a want of a clear understanding of these causes has had its full share in the producing of this astonishing patience and forbearance; and, for my part, I must confess that I think, that the thing would have been different, if the people could have *clearly understood* that all this mass of ruin and of misery arose, at once and directly, out of acts passed by the Parliament! This is the true and

only cause of all the difficulties which now (1834) beset the Government; and, if not arrested in its progress, this cause will, in the end, produce a total overthrow of that Government.

466. Leaving the reader with the all-pervading effect of this cause impressed upon his mind, let us now proceed to take a view of the *sudden changes* of all descriptions, which marked the close of this revolution-preparing regency and reign.

467. *Peel's Bill* crippled the boroughmonger Government; made it *tame*, compared to what it had been; unnerved it, without its perceiving the cause; filed its sharp and ever-biting teeth. Hitherto it had had to contend against the demands of the poorer part of the community; now it had to hear the complaints of the land-holders and land-owners, who had, for so many years, supported it in all its acts of severity inflicted on the common people. Thus supported, it had surrounded itself with an army of a hundred thousand men; it had passed and enforced just what laws it pleased; and there seemed to be no hope of any man ever seeing an end to its prodigality and its insolence. But, the day of *reckoning* was now come, brought on by itself; and, that which men of sense had always foreseen, feebleness and embarrassment had succeeded irresistible force and careless squandering. The boldest of its upholders became timid; the

dungeon and the gag they might, indeed, always have at their command : but, it was *ten shillings in gold for a bushel of wheat* that was wanted ; and the dungeon and the gag would not give them *that*.

468. In this state of things a sort of fearful looking forward seemed to seize upon the once bold, daring, and impudent factions, whether in power or wanting to be in power ; men who had been as careless about the sufferings of the millions of people, as if these had been so many gnats, now began, all of a sudden, to hold the language of *humanity*, a feeling, which, for thirty or forty years, appeared to have been wholly banished from their breasts. This, however, was a thing so contrary to their nature, that the being subdued to it produced in them a sort of despondency, leading, by a very natural process, to an imbecility of mind : unrelenting severity and insolence formed the element of their enjoyment : compelled to quit this element, they became benumbed, as the malignant serpent does when the sun withdraws its beams. Whole crowds of them became silent, or assumed a quite new tone. Amongst these latter were, CASTLE-REAGH, LIVERPOOL, and CANNING, three of the most hard and most insolent of mankind. The END of these three men was remarkable : they were all under ground in less than five years from the day that PEARL'S BILL set the land-own-

ers to clamouring for relief from their burdens, burdens brought on them by that war against freedom, of which war these men had been the supporters from the first hour to the last. Of every act of severity, of every bold violation of the constitution, of every bill for dungeons and gagging the people, of every tax, of every loan, of all that set frugality at defiance, and that mocked at mercy, these men had been either the authors or the most strenuous supporters; and had all been receiving immense sums of public money; had all been wallowing in wealth, luxury, and splendour, while the people, whose earnings they had for so many years been devouring, had been sinking into poverty, approaching, in many cases, to actual starvation! This career was now, however, coming to a close; the land-owners began to clamour for relief; these insolent men stood aghast; despair seems to have seized on them; and a short time saw them off the stage for ever.

469. The end of CASTLEBROUGH was striking, and ought to be particularly recorded. He was the favourite minister of "THE SOVEREIGN." He had been Pitt's chief agent in the transactions relating to the Union with Ireland; he had been the chief agent in the affairs at Paris, in 1814 and 1815; he had brought in the gagging and dungeoning bills of 1817; he had brought into the House of Commons the charges against

the queen; he had brought in the Corn-bill, which he said he would pass *because* the people clamoured against it; he had called the people, who upheld the queen, "*the basest populace*"; and he had uniformly showed so complete a want of feeling for them, that their feeling towards him was more hostile than can be described. There appeared to be a mutual and unquenchable hatred between them.

470. In August 1822, "THE SOVEREIGN," as we shall more particularly see by-and-by, went to receive the *homage* of the *Scotch*, as he had been to receive that of the *Irish* in 1821, having had the homage of his *English* subjects before, and having quite enough of it yet. CASTLEREAGH, who was the very *soul* of the whole Government, was secretary of state for foreign affairs; but, as the secretaries of state for the home department and for the colonies (Lords Sidmouth and Bathurst) accompanied the king, these two important offices were filled by CASTLEREAGH in their absence; and he was, in fact, on the 11. of August 1822, secretary of state for all the three departments. "THE SOVEREIGN" set off for Scotland on the 11. of August, leaving, in fact, the whole of the government in the hands of this man, having prorogued the parliament on the 6. of the same month. On the 12. OF AUGUST, which happened to be the birth-day of the sovereign him-

self, this man, this despiser of the people, this bringer-in of gagging and of dungeoning bills ; this man, who laughed at the people when it was alleged against him that he had sold a seat in parliament ; this man, who, observe, had been what is called the " LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS " for several years, up to the 6. of August ; this man, who had for the better part of thirty years been revelling in unbridled power, in inflicting severities almost at his pleasure ; who had had no more idea of ever meeting with control, than if he had been possessed of almighty power ; this man, on the day just mentioned, cut his own throat, and killed himself, at the village of NORTH CRAY, in Kent !

471. But it is not the mere death, or the manner of the death, of a stupid and impudent and insolent creature like this, that is at all worthy of our attention ; it is the cause of it, and the political circumstances connected with that cause. It was said, that insanity was the cause ; and, it is worth while, indeed, to peruse here the verdict of the coroner and jury :

" That on Monday, Aug. 12, and for sometime previously, " the most noble Robert, Marquis of Londonderry, under " a grievous disorder did labour and languish, and be- " came in consequence delirious and of insane mind ; and " that, whilst in that state, with a knife of iron and steel, he " did inflict on himself, on the left side of his neck, and of

“ the carotid artery, a wound of one inch in length, and half
“ an inch in depth, of which he instantly died ; and that no
“ other person except himself was the cause of his death.”

472. We will first notice the mode of administering the law in this case. The law was, that a self-murderer should be punished, by his body being buried in cross-roads with a stake driven down through it ; and that all his property should be forfeited to the king ; but that an insane person could not be guilty of this species of felony. BLACKSTONE, in his 4th book and 14th chapter, observing upon this law, condemns those coroners and those juries, who carried this exception of insanity to a too great length ; and he adds, that if every man who commits this sort of felony is to be deemed insane, why not conclude that every other murderer is insane, as well as the self-murderer ? Yet, in this case, the Kentish coroner, according to the published report of the proceedings, told the jury, “ that he regarded as
“ an *axiom*, that a man must necessarily be out
“ of his mind at the moment of destroying him-
“ self.” Upon this ground the jury found the verdict : they determined that CASTLEBRACK had not been a felon ; and, of course, his carcass escaped the cross-roads and the stake, to which those of so many thousands of poor men had been subjected under this law ; and his property was prevented from becoming the property of the nation.

473. But his colleagues, and the whole swarm of those who lived on the corruptions, were in a dilemma here. What! at the moment of cutting his throat he filled the offices of the three secretaries of state! What! he had been for many years the leader of the House of Commons up to six days before he cut his throat! What! was the government then left in the hands of a madman? Was the House of Commons led by a madman? Ugly, difficult: puzzling, distressing dilemma! At first a report was spread, through the newspapers devoted to the Government, and particularly in a paper called the *Courier*, "*that he had suddenly died of a fit of gout in the stomach.*" The editor of this paper must have received instructions from somebody to spread this report; but the next day it was found that this would not do where there was a houseful of servants all with tongues in their heads. Now every wheel was put in motion to establish the belief of the insanity! an alternative distressing enough: but not so distressing as the cross-roads and the stake, and the appropriation of an immense estate to the use of the people. The estate was melancholy enough, but the cross-roads and the stake were the very devil; for who was there to guarantee that the body would have rested there for twenty-four hours, and that it would not have been food for carrion crows in less than a week!

474. Hey! then, for proof of the insanity.

And now came forth a letter from the Duke of WELLINGTON, which was shown to the jury, and which was dated, observe, three days before the throat-cutting took place; that is to say, on the 9. of August. This letter was addressed to a doctor, skilful in cases of insanity, of the name of BANKHEAD, giving it as the duke's opinion, that CASTLEREAGH was then "labouring under a delusion." Even the king's opinion was cited as confirming this opinion of the insanity; and the public were informed, through the channel of the *Courier* newspaper of the 14. of August, that the king himself observed, that CASTLEREAGH was insane before he set off to Scotland; and that the king sent for Lord LIVERPOOL to tell him "that he thought CASTLEREAGH's intellects were impaired"; this, observe, was on Friday the 9. of August, the spreader of these lies forgetting that the king went off to Scotland on the 11., and left the whole of the government in this man's hands.

475. The authors of these stories about the insanity must have perceived the effect which the fact would make upon the minds of the people: they must have perceived what an effect on those minds would be produced by the fact, that the nation had been under a mad ruler, and the House of Commons under a mad leader, for so long a time; for, at last, they carried back the proof of the insanity for three months: they must

have perceived what effect this would have ; but still this was Paradise itself ; it was Elysium ; it was the quaffing of nectar, compared with the cross-roads and the chances of the carrion crows !

476. There was still a difficulty, however ; there was the burial, and *the place of burial*. The village of NORTH CRAY, one would have thought, was the place which wise men would have fixed upon. They fixed, however, upon WESTMINSTER Abbey. They very well knew that there would be disagreeable circumstances attending this ; but it was a place of safer keeping than the church of the little village of NORTH CRAY. The body was, therefore, brought in the night-time, to the house of CASTLEREAGH in St. JAMES'S-SQUARE. From that house it was conveyed to the Abbey, on the 20. of August. An immense concourse of people assembled upon the occasion ; and while the body was being removed from the hearse into the Abbey, the people gave a *shout of exultation*, as if witnessing the most joyous of all possible transactions, which they continued to repeat for a considerable time, alternately laughing and shouting.

477. Such was the end of the man who had been the greatest and most efficient of all the instruments in conducting the proceedings of the Government during the previous twenty-two years. And, here we ought to pause a little, and take a review of his deeds ; look at the sufferings

which he had occasioned in thousands and in millions ; mark his rise, his progress, and never forget his end.

478. LIVERPOOL continued to get along as prime minister until 1827. At the opening of the Parliament of that year the public learned that there was something the matter with him : it was first "*indisposition*": it was next "*a paralytic stroke*"; enough, "however, to disqualify him for continuing to *act*, for the present"; but his place was not filled up for two months : at last, however, it was filled up ; and, secret as the matter was kept, his half-brother, who was a member of the House of Commons, at last declared him to be in "*a state of melancholy incapacity*." He died no very long time afterwards : his real physical disease was, it is no matter what ; his death took place, it is no matter when ; he was buried, it is no matter where ; though his deeds ought never to be forgotten ; and particularly it ought to be remembered, that from his father being a writer for pay in the London reviews, they rose between them to an enormous estate both in money and in land.

479. CANNING, who was the son of a play-actress, then alive under the name of HUNN, whom he had placed on the pension list, succeeded LIVERPOOL as prime minister, in the month of May 1827. Chosen by "*THE SOVEREIGN*," who had, doubtless, not forgot-

ten this man's merits in the transactions relative to the poor queen. CANNING was a famous talker; as brazen a defender of corruption as CASTLEREAGH; but with infinitely more talent. There never had been one act of severity against the people, or of insult towards them, during the preceding forty years, which he had not defended. He appeared to be the ex-officio calumniator of the reformers, of whom upon all occasions he spoke as if it would be a virtue to destroy them. This man, who had made a jest of the groans of one of the dungeon victims of 1817, first made an attempt to get the Duke of WELLINGTON to join him; next made an attempt of the same sort with regard to Lord GREY. Refused by both, he was compelled to resort to the insolent Whigs, always greedy; always ready to swallow public money, come from what hand it might. Here he found men to join him; but the people so detested them, so despised them, for the part they were acting, that they gave him no strength; and he, oppressed by the various difficulties that surrounded him, and not capable of anything beyond mere speech-making, exhibited such marks of incapacity for this office, that every one saw directly that the government must soon go to pieces in his hands. He was first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, too. It was his business to bring forward what is called the budget. This he did early in June 1827;

and so wretched a figure did he make, that it was very clear that he could not remain in his office for any length of time. His situation was thus depicted to me at the time. "These budgets
" have generally contained a multitude of facts,
" put forth with tolerable volubility; a great
" mass of fallacies and intricacies, rounded here
" and there by bold and swaggering assertions,
" which, all put together, made up a mass suffi-
" cient for the foul-feeding hearers. But this
" poor man really seems to have been turned
" down, as a merciless nurse turns down her
" baby upon a hard floor, without leading-
" strings. 'All aloney'! the slattern cries; and
" away comes the poor thing, staring at it knows
" not what, holding out its helpless hands, grasp-
" ing at the air, and, at last, down it comes
" tumbling upon the floor with a squall."

480. Never was truer picture drawn by man; and I have the vanity to hope that it might have had some little effect in avenging the cause of the injured, cruelly-treated, and insulted reformers, by assisting in bringing him more speedily to that end, which took place by his death, on the 7. of August 1827, giving him only three months of a premiership, as a reward for his forty years' injuries heaped upon the people. He had been five-and-thirty years a sinecure placeman; he had his mother and a half-sister on the pension-list; he had swallowed from a hundred and fifty

to two hundred thousand pounds of the public money ; he had been in divers offices ; in that of secretary of state for foreign affairs, his insolence to the American government this nation had to suffer for in the expensive and disgraceful war which afterwards took place ; and, in the same capacity, he put up a *prayer* in the House of Commons for the defeat of the French expedition against the Spanish Cortes in 1823 ; and he had to proclaim to all the world, that *let the French, or any other nation, do what they would, England was resolved to remain at peace.* But his great and constantly committed crime was, his hostility to the liberties of the people of England ; his apparently natural animosity to every thing not friendly to corruption. He was the defender of the employment of spies ; he was the advocate of every species of cruelty committed on the people ; he was the most daring and insolent of all the enemies of parliamentary reform ; he called the reformers a low degraded crew ; he was a shallow, vain, thoughtless man ; he was too shallow to perceive any of the great difficulties that pressed upon the Government ; but his vanity was wounded when he found that, though prime minister, nothing but dirty renegades gave him their countenance. Shifty and tricky in all other matters, he was constant in his hatred of the rights of the people. On the 4. of May, 1827, a few days after he became

minister, being asked what he would do with the question of parliamentary reform, he answered : " I will oppose parliamentary reform, in whatever shape it may appear, to the last hour of my life." That last hour soon came ; and base was the Englishman who did not rejoice that it was come.

481. CANNING was succeeded by Lord GODERICH, who had recently been made a peer, he having been the "*prosperity*" chancellor of the exchequer in 1824 and 1825. He, however, quitted his office under pretence of lowness of spirits, as the newspapers told us, occasioned by the death of his only child. This excuse was too ridiculous to be believed in for a moment. After an attempt of another or two to supply his place, the Duke of WELLINGTON had the boldness to take it. He was as fit as any other man to carry on a system which no man could carry on. The matter was, *fifty-nine millions of sovereigns a year to be raised in gold, with wheat at six shillings a bushel*. This was the thing to be done ; and this could not be done, and preserve the institutions of the country as they had long been established. The duke soon found that his "*word of command*" had no effect upon the bushels of wheat. He knew nothing about the causes of the embarrassment of the Government any more than a fly or a gnat knew about them. He had an army of a hundred thousand men ;

but they could not make wheat ten shillings a bushel, though they could eat a great deal of it, which had been raised by the industrious people. He found, in short, that he could not go on without yielding to any powerful body that demanded a yielding on its behalf. The dissenters had long been demanding a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; they now pressed that demand with great vigour: those acts were repealed in April, 1828. The dissenters were thus declared to be as fit as church-people for any offices whatsoever; after which declaration, what reason was there for the support of our establishment? This was the first distinct blow that the church received. She here began to fall.

482. The next year (1829), in the face of the most positive declarations of hostility against it, made during the whole course of his political life, the duke himself actually proposed to repeal all the laws of disqualification against the Catholics, and to put them, in all respects whatsoever, upon a perfect level with the Protestants of the church of England. This proposition, after long and great opposition, however, was finally carried. But the most curious circumstance as to this matter is, that the duke, and also Sir ROBERT PEEL, who was the prime minister in the Commons, declared *that they were principally actuated by an anxious desire to uphold and to perpetuate the power and the glory*

of the Protestant established church ! They declared (delightful statesmen as they were), that it was their thorough conviction, that, by adopting this measure, all ground of hostility to the Protestant church would be removed from the minds of the Catholics ; that it would make them ungrudgingly pay their tithes in future, and would bring that peace and happiness to Ireland which she had not known for so many ages ! Precisely the contrary of all this has taken place ; and precisely the contrary would naturally take place : it was inevitable ; it was foreseen ; it was distinctly foretold to these men by me ; and, already (1834) have we seen ten Irish bishops reduced in number ; we have seen act after act passed to put down the eternal war carried on against the collection of tithes ; and at this very moment (July 1834) there is a bill before the Parliament which contemplates the taking away from the church a part of its revenue, and applying it to secular purposes. After the passing of this bill the duke and his ministry staggered along, under great unpopularity, until the death of the king, and a little way into the new reign, in 1830.

483. The difficulties of the government went on increasing, as they necessarily must, under the diminished means of the nation, and the constant increase of its burdens ; for, though the *nominal* sum collected was not increased, but rather diminished, it was in reality increased by the

change in the value of the money; all attempts to counteract which were as vain as attempts would be to stop the flowing of the tide, or the shining of the sun. When the duke was selected to be minister, the selection gave very great satisfaction to the nobility and gentry, and especially to the clergy; but it was viewed with great suspicion by the people, who found it extremely difficult to discover any good reason for selecting this soldier as a person to manage all the civil affairs of a kingdom in a time of peace. The former, however, in whose minds danger to their titles and estates and property was always uppermost, seemed to be delighted that they had a man so perfectly skilled in using the sword; always forgetting that the sword, be it wielded by whom it might, could not make wheat more than six shillings a bushel. They were in trouble; they were in difficulty up to their lips; they wanted some great change for the better; and they had a sort of vague hope, that the wondrous duke, who had fought the battle of WATERLOO, and had left that of NEW ORLEANS to be fought by somebody else; they had a sort of vague hope that his "*vigour*" and "*decision*" would, somehow or another, effect something to relieve them, and they in general most basely bowed down before him. They congratulated each other upon having a minister of such "*decision*" and "*promptitude*;" words.

which were constantly on their lips. Country gentlemen knew that he was totally ignorant of all country affairs; traders of all sorts knew that he knew nothing of trade; lawyers knew that law was a sealed book to him; literary men knew that he could not write English correctly, of which they had seen specimens enough; how divines found him it is hard to say; but it was not a saint that the people wanted; it was a manager; a carrier on of multifarious secular affairs. Yet, though no one of these admirers could point out any one thing that he was likely to understand, except the things appertaining to the bayonet and the cannon, all those who lived upon the tithes or taxes reposed unlimited confidence in him. Their minds had so long been accustomed to look upon physical coercion as the one thing needful, that they thought that they had at last got the very man that was wanted. The opposition to him in Parliament was next to nothing; so that he was left to do as he pleased more than any man that had ever been minister for a hundred years.

484. But in the midst of all this, he soon found himself beset with difficulties which were not to be overcome. He had for his principal colleague the author of the bill of 1819. The land-owners and parsons discovered, to their great mortification, that they derived no benefit from his vigour and his promptitude; that their es-

tates were constantly going on sinking away from them by degrees ; that he was, after all, but a very common-place sort of a statesman, however much fire he might have eaten in the wars ; and, in spite of all the puffings off which he received from the press, there was a considerable part of the people who had a bad opinion of him, and who showed that bad opinion by the use of words, and by acts of the most unequivocal character, long before the end of the second year of his administration.

485. The pecuniary distresses of the people, in the year 1830, were very great : they made their complaints in various ways ; but, after exhausting their ingenuity to find out a remedy, they came to that *reform of the Parliament* which had been sought for for so many years, and which he had invariably opposed whenever he had had an opportunity of doing it. The country was full of discontent, which was at last concentrated in an unanimous cry for parliamentary reform. In this state of things "THE SOVEREIGN" died on the 26. of June, 1830 ; but there was not the smallest idea afloat that the new king would make any change in the ministers. This king prorogued the Parliament on the 23. of July, with a speech in the old style, crying up the excellence of the constitution, and hinting pretty broadly at the necessity of great military force for the purpose of maintaining it. The new Parliament met

on the 26. of October; and the king opened it by a speech from the throne, on the 2. of November. This speech was in the old style, bragging of the excellence of the kingly government, and threatening with punishment the "*seditions*" and "*disaffected.*" This being the last effort of the duke in the king's speech-making way, it is proper to record the very words: "I cannot view without grief and *indignation* the efforts which are industriously made to excite among my people a spirit of *discontent* and *disaffection*, and to *disturb the concord* which happily prevails between those parts of my dominions, the union of which is essential to their common strength and common happiness. I am *determined* to exert, to the utmost of my power, all the means which the law and the constitution have placed at my disposal, for the *punishment* of *sedition*, and for the prompt suppression of *outrage* and *disorder*. Amidst *all the difficulties* of the present conjuncture, I reflect with the highest satisfaction on the *loyalty* and *affectionate attachment* of the *great body* of my people. I am confident that they justly appreciate the full advantage of that happy form of government, under which, through the favour of Divine Providence, this country has enjoyed, for a long succession of years, a greater share of internal peace, of commercial prosperity, of *true liberty*, of all that

“constitutes social happiness, than has fallen to
“the lot of any other country of the world.”

486. The people had seen enough before the meeting of the Parliament to prevent them from entertaining any very sanguine hopes of a change for the better to arise out of this change of kings ; but they do not seem to have been prepared for any thing so very angry as this. Here were all the old topics that had been in every king's speech for a great number of years. There was no sedition in the country ; no disaffection towards the king, or the form of the government. There were great want and suffering in the country ; and thousands of petitions, coming from all quarters, for a reform of the House of Commons, in order that the burdens of the people might be lessened. But there was no *sedition* : this charge against the people was not true, and they lost no time in resenting it.

487. Their resentment, however, was nothing, on this account, compared with that which they felt against WELLINGTON, on account of the speech which he delivered in the House of Lords on that same day, the following extract from which speech was immediately published and republished in every part of the kingdom. While the king was censuring and threatening his people, he did not forget to call for *money* to support the honour and dignity of his crown. However, it was WELLINGTON's speech in the House

which gave the great offence to the people. It was this speech that put an end to his power; and, certainly, for audacity, for contempt towards the people, it never had its equal. The whole country, with the exclusion of those who lived on the taxes and the tithes, were loudly calling for a reform of the House of Commons; and every one was convinced that no good could come to the country without such reform. It was in this state of things that he uttered the following most audacious and most insolent words :

“ The noble earl (GREY) had recommended the expedient
“ of *Parliamentary reform*, and remarked that he did not think
“ that the Government was as yet prepared with any plan on
“ the subject. The noble earl was right; for certainly the
“ Government was not prepared with any plan for *Parlia-*
“ *mentary reform*. I will go further, and say, *that I never*
“ *heard that any country ever had a more improved or more satis-*
“ *factory representation than this country enjoys at this moment.*
“ I do not mean to enter upon that subject now, as it is pro-
“ bable we shall have abundant opportunities to consider it
“ afterwards: and I do say that this country has now a legis-
“ lature *more calculated to answer all the purposes of a good*
“ *legislature than any other that can well be devised*—that it
“ possesses, and deservedly possesses, the *confidence of the*
“ *country*, and that its discussions have a powerful influence
“ in the country. And I will say further, that if I had to
“ form a legislature, I would create one, not equal in excel-
“ lence to the present, for that I could not expect to be able to do,
“ but something as nearly of the same description as pos-
“ sible. I should form it of men possessed of a very large
“ proportion of the property of the country, in which the
“ land-holders should have a great preponderance. I, there-
“ fore, am not prepared with any measure of *Parliamentary*
“ *Reform*, nor shall any measure of the kind be proposed BY
“ THE GOVERNMENT AS LONG AS I HOLD MY
“ PRESENT POSITION.”

488. After this, it was a running fight with the "hero of WATERLOO," whom the people hooted and pelted wherever they could see him. But this matter, together with the king's disappointing the citizens of London in not dining with them in their Guildhall, the exclamation of Sir ROBERT PEEL, "*What shall we do with the duke*?" the pretence upon which the duke finally resigned; his having bullet-proof window-shutters to his house; all these belong to the history of William the Fourth; together with the pulling down of the sign-posts which had the duke's name on picture upon them; and the rubbing out of his name from the corners of the streets, on which that name had been so recently put, as a mark of the public esteem in which he was held. These things we must now leave, and return to the BIG SOVEREIGN, and see the end of his career.

489. In the year 1821 he visited his subjects in Ireland; and he was in the Isle of ANGLESEA, at the house of the marquis of that name, while the people were fighting against his soldiers, in the streets of London, over the dead body of his wife. Not one single address either of condolence or of congratulation; not one pledge of support had the poor queen ever received from Ireland; and not above two or three from Scotland. It was not that the people of those countries did not feel for her, but that they did not

dare to express their feeling ; and thus it always is with colonies, and with parts of a kingdom detached from the main and ruling part. This man, however, as such a man naturally would, imputed the silence of the people of those countries to their wondrous affection for himself. The Irish, above all others, were now his favourites ; and they, forgetting the laws that had been passed against them, and deluded most probably by arts of all sorts, gave him a most enthusiastic reception ; while he, a glimpse of whose person had hardly ever been got at by his English subjects, for years past, sought opportunities of getting himself surrounded by mobs of people out of doors ; and even came down so low as to put the SHAMROCK (an Irish word for Dutch or white clover) in his hat, which he pulled off and swung, in company with his *intense* subjects. All this did not pass unobserved, or unreasoned upon, by his English subjects, with whom it was by no means an argument in support of the proposition, that they had been in the wrong.

490. From Ireland he returned to BRIGHTHELMSTONE, in Sussex, where he had a thing which he called a "*pavilion*," which had cost the nation not less than a million of money. As if weary of popularity ; as if sick of the plaudits of his subjects, very few of them could get a sight of his person from the moment that he set his foot again in England. Instead of going to

BRIGHTHELMSTONE by the way of London, along the great and populous roads, he hastened across the comparatively secluded counties of Salop, Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford, Berks, and Surrey, into the county of Sussex, leaving London sixteen miles to his left : and so truly modest was he become, that in this route horses were taken forward out of the several towns to be put to his carriage, lest the people should gaze upon him, and overpower him with their marks of respect and affection, while his horses were changing at the several inns in the country towns.

491. Very soon after his visit to Ireland he passed over to the continent, to visit his subjects in Hanover, which had been erected into a "*kingdom*"; though not intrinsically worth one half of the county of Kent, to which Hanover England has been sending more than a hundred thousand pounds a year, on an average, ever since the peace. The next year he visited his subjects in Scotland, it is supposed in consequence of the pressing entreaties of the Scotch nobility, a very large part of whom were, and always had been, upon the pension or sinecure list. The Scotch *people* received him dryly; and he returned apparently not very well pleased with his reception.

492. After this, the remainder of his life was spent in almost total seclusion from the eyes of the people, who were, however, daily informed, by the newspapers, of his dinner-parties at his

cottage; of his rides about WINDSOR-park, in his pony phaeton; of his fishing on "VIRGINIA-WATER", which is a pond of about two or three acres in WINDSOR-park, made for the purpose of collecting water from the soak of the adjoining hill, in order to secure a supply to run down over some great stones, the whole to imitate the "*falls of Niagara*", the whole body of the stream being hardly sufficient to turn the smallest of mills. In short, an eighteen gallon barrel would be a channel sufficiently spacious for this stream. The descriptions which the public were constantly receiving of these his important movements served, at any rate, to make them merry for a moment, amongst the miseries that the measures of his reign had inflicted. He had become enormously fat; being tall, and of a large frame, he made altogether an uncommonly huge mass; so that when "THE SOVEREIGN" was exhibited to the people as standing in a golden "*gondola*", catching a large minnow, by a golden hook suspended from a silver rod, with the Marchioness of CONYNNGHAM, the noble Lord BLOOMFIELD, the Right Honourable Sir JOHN M'MAHON, and the Right Honourable Sir WILLIAM KNIGHTON, in ecstasies of admiration, while the Right Honourable Sir HERBERT TAYLOR was in the act of making a written record of the exploit; when the people read descriptions like this, or something of this character, they

forgot for the moment their own sufferings, which were lost in the feelings which would be naturally inspired towards "THE SOVEREIGN", which the baseness of the press had made it fashionable to call him; and baseness such as was exhibited in that press, during the last ten years of this reign, never was equalled before in the world. The word "*king*" had almost fallen out of use: the country was called an "*empire*" instead of a "*kingdom*"; and a law having been made for the new regulation of measures, the new measure was called the "*Imperial measure*" in the act of parliament making the regulation. The nation had fallen into the use of a crouching tone: every thing seemed to spring from a military source. It was no longer "the king has *directed* me", the "king has *ordered* me", but "the *sovereign* has *commanded* me, &c." This base phraseology descended down to the underlings of the most distant branches and sprigs of royalty; and we had from some man or some woman in her service, "The Princess ELIZABETH has *commanded* me to tell you, &c." Instead of that sober, decent, and sincerely respectful language, unaccompanied with servility, which had always distinguished persons in authority about the throne, we seemed to have imported all the flummery of the French with all the naked slavery of the Austrians. Instead of saying that a certain paper had been laid before the king, or sub-

mitted to the king, it was a paper "laid at his majesty's *feet*". Laid at the *feet* of the old queen, too, and of the princesses; and, it is very curious, but perfectly true, that in the exact degree that this servile language crept into use, in that same degree royalty sunk in the estimation of the people, who, if restrained from printing, could not be restrained from *talking*; and it may be truly said, that the measures and manners of this king's reign did more to shake the long-settled prejudices of the people in favour of kingly government, than had ever been done since the days of CROMWELL.

493. At the end of seven years of this sort of life, the king died at WINDSOR-castle, on the 26. of June, 1830, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He was buried in about ten days afterwards, at Windsor, with a pomp and at a national expense quite in accordance with all the manners and expenses that had marked his life. But, the curious thing is, *the manner in which the people conducted themselves on this occasion*. When, about three years before, the DUKE OF YORK was buried, it was said, that SWIFT's observation, that "the merriest faces were seen in mourning coaches," was fully verified. But how was it now, then, on the burial-day of "THE SOVEREIGN"? The people of London *shut up their shops*, as they had done at the burial of the sovereign's unfortunate wife: but, never was

there such a day of *holiday-keeping* known since London was first founded. It was early in July, the day was beautifully fine, the whole of the immense population seemed, with one accord, as if by positive compact, to be resolved on a *day of pleasure*. The roads in every direction were, by nine o'clock in the morning, crowded with carriages of all sorts, from the glass-coach, carrying tradesmen and their wives and daughters, down to the market carts, and even wagons, carrying the working people, while thousands upon thousands went on foot; and all bent on a day of pleasure. The Thames was almost literally covered with water-vehicles of every description. More than ten thousand people went by water to Richmond, and, it was said that fourteen thousand went to Gravesend; while all the villages, short of those distances, exhibited scenes like those of a Whit Monday, rows of men on benches, out of doors, drinking and smoking; dances on the green-sward; fiddling, singing, and all those other demonstrations of a resolution to cast away care for the moment. And, which was the most curious circumstance of the whole, there appeared to have been *no concert* in this case; there had been no public invitation to this mirthful conduct; politics seemed to have been forgotten for the day; no motive of any kind appeared in the conduct of any part of the people: and they seem to have been urged to this unparalleled

unanimity by a sort of spontaneous and almost instinctive feeling ; as if nature herself had told them that it was time to rub out the furrows, worn in their cheeks by the tears which they had shed for "THE SOVEREIGN'S" unfortunate wife, whose heart had been broken by the thrusting of her from the scene of the coronation by the hands of a common boxer for prizes !

494. Historians usually conclude the history of a reign by giving the CHARACTER of the reigner. I shall not do this, because it would not be *prudent* to say the *whole* of what I ought to say ; and because, to say *a part*, is, in fact, to tell *a lie* ; a lie being a suppression of the truth, as well as a stating of what is false. In 1810, two brothers of the name of HUNT, one a very able writer, the other a printer, one edited, and the other printed a very excellent and honest newspaper, called "THE EXAMINER," of which these gentlemen were joint-proprietors, were prosecuted by the attorney-general GIBBS, and sentenced to be imprisoned *two years*, in *different jails*, and to pay *a fine of 500*l.** each at the end of the time ; and their crime was, having, in their paper, called this king SARDANAPALUS, who, as the reader well knows, was at once a tyrannical, cruel, and despicably effeminate, debauched, and senseless wretch, who once ruled over Babylon, and whose oppressions, arising from his squanderings on costly things and costly attire, and on

abandoned men and women, drove his subjects to rebel against him, and compelled him to put an end to his own life to avoid being dethroned by them. This ruinous sentence on the Messrs. HUNT, passed just at the outset of the regency, taught the press *good manners*: and, during the whole of the 20 years of the regency and reign, it seemed never to forget this terrific example.

495. But, now that "THE SOVEREIGN" is *dead*, we may surely speak of him as we like? By no means; and one of these same Messrs. HUNT was, during the reign of George IV. punished for printing what was called a *libel* on George III., *who had been dead for some time!* To make up for this restraint, we are, however, permitted to write and speak, to our heart's content, in *praise of kings*, dead or alive, without any liability to punishment; we may, in *praise* of them, not only say the *whole truth*, but may add as many and as monstrous lies as we please; and, great God! how many are the volumes of most atrocious lies that have been uttered, in speech and through the press, in *praise* of this king; beginning with the speech of Sir ROBERT PERL, in the House of Commons, who was the secretary of state for the home department, and who, in moving the address to the new king, was reported to have said: "That in the course of a
" considerable portion of that time during which
" his late Majesty reigned over the country, we

“enjoyed the blessings of peace; and he believed
“that much of the benefits we have derived from
“the *mild and beneficent administration of the*
“*laws* during that period were owing to the
“*mild and generous* character of his majesty
“himself; that we have *lived too near* the pe-
“riod of these occurrences, to be able to esti-
“mate in their full force all the benefits we have
“derived from the *mild and beneficent govern-*
“*ment of the late king*; and that, whether in
“peace or in war, during the whole course of
“his delegated power, whether as regent or as
“king, he never exercised, or expressed any
“wish to exercise, the prerogatives of the king,
“except for the relief and the advantage of his
“people.”

496. This speech being *ex officio*, and coming from a man of spotless private character, *may* be excused, on the same principle that we excuse falsehoods uttered by advocates at the bar, in the cause of their clients; but the cases are not in point, for SIR ROBERT PEELE had a duty to perform towards *the people* as well as towards the king; and a due sense of that duty would have restrained him from uttering this eulogium. However, not thinking it *prudent* to say what ought to be said in answer to SIR ROBERT PEELE, I shall say nothing at all about the CHARACTER of this king; I shall leave the assertions about the “*blessings*” of his reign; about his “*mild*

and *beneficent government* ;” about his “*mild and generous character* ;” to be confirmed or negatived by the *facts* which I have already related, and to be contained in the next and last chapter ; in which I shall describe the state in which he left the nation : 1, with regard to foreign nations ; 2, with regard to the burdens which he entailed on his people ; 3, with regard to the privations and sufferings of that people ; and 4, with regard to the new and severe laws, and the many innovations on the constitution made during his regency and reign.

CHAPTER X.

Foreign Affairs during this Regency and Reign.—Taxes and Expenses during the Twenty Years.—Abuses in the Church.—Privations and Sufferings of the People.—New and severe Laws, and daring Innovations on the Constitution.

497. WITH regard to FOREIGN AFFAIRS, it may truly be said that England never appeared little in the eyes of the world, till the time of this Big Sovereign. All the boastings about the battle of Waterloo, and about the victories in what the English officers call the “*Peninsula* ;” all the hectoring and all the bullying blinded men of sense but for a very short time: the peace with France ; the stripping of the French museums ; the making of Hanover into a kingdom ; the innumerable orders of knighthood created by the Big Sovereign ; the swarms of “*Sirs and of Ladies*” to whom he gave life ; all these, after the drunken fit of the nation was over, were made to appear perfectly ridiculous, by the progress and the result of the American

war, which exhibited the British navy in a state of disgraceful defeat, against America single-handed, and showed her signing a treaty of peace, in which she expressly abandoned every item in a *sine qua non*, which she had pompously laid down ; and in which she mutually abandoned her great maritime right, which she had exercised for five hundred years ; namely, the right of searching neutral vessels at sea.

498. The Americans, without our daring to utter a word, acquired the two FLORIDAS from Spain, after the peace ; though the possession of these provinces necessarily gave them the command of the gulf of Mexico, and brought their dominions into dangerous contact with our West India colonies. In the breaking-up of the Spanish power in South America, we had an eye upon CUBA. The Americans declared, in the face of the world, that they would suffer no European power to acquire CUBA, or any of the dominions of Spain in South America ; and all this while our miserable ministers held the most tame and fawning language towards the United States.

499. In 1823 the French invaded Spain, with the openly-avowed purpose of upsetting the government of the *Cortes*, which we had established there. Previous to this declaration there was a Congress of the Ministers of the European Sovereigns held at CREMONA. CANNING was our secretary of state for foreign affairs, and WEL-

LINGTON the ambassador to this Congress. To this Congress WELLINGTON was instructed to declare, on the part of England, that, let other powers determine on what they might, *for herself England was determined to have peace*; which was just the same thing as declaring, that she had no longer the power nor the spirit to make war, though invaded on her own soil. With this declaration in her ears, the French, of course, lost no time in marching into Spain. They succeeded in their object; they put down the CORTES; they re-established FERDINAND in his kingly office, to the great loss of the English usurers, who had taken the convents of Spain in pawn; and to the great delight of every man who detests tyranny under the names and forms of freedom; who detests that which we have had reason to think about and talk about so long. Upon this occasion the English ministers, like FALSTAFF in his last illness, "called a' God!" that is to say, LEVERPOOL, in the House of Lords, and CANNING in the House of Commons, expressly, and in the most pious manner possible, "prayed to God that the French might not succeed!" God did not hear them, and he certainly remembered their invasion of defenceless nations; and their works on the museums and the frontier towns of France. The French gave us every possible provocation to take part in this quarrel; they rum-

aged our ships in the ports of Spain, and served us up all our own conduct towards neutral nations during the preceding war. It had for ages been the policy of England to uphold the Barbary states in their independence: the French invaded ALGIERS; took the treasures of the Dey; banished him from his territory, and kept possession of it, without England daring to utter one single word.

500. But, the most striking and humiliating thing of all, was the overrunning of Turkey by Russia. Mr. PITT prepared for war on the Empress Catherine, to prevent her from encroaching on the Turkish dominions, so far as to quarter her troops on a Turkish town on the confines of the two empires. The Big Sovereign suffered Russia to take possession of CONSTANTINOPLE itself; to assume the command of the DARDANELLES; to bring her fleets into the Mediterranean; and, by way of consummating a series of acts of baseness unparalleled in the history of nations, they sent an English fleet to co-operate with a fleet of Russia, and a fleet of France, to demolish the Turkish naval power, under pretence that the Turks had violated a treaty made with the three powers; than which nothing ever spoken or written was more false.

501. What, it will be asked, could have thus changed the character of the English nation? What could have deprived it of its spirit, its

energy, its power, all at once? especially having so big a sovereign at its head, and the "greatest captain of the age" at the head of its armies? It was that which deprives individuals of their spirit, their energy, and their power: a DEBT which it could not pay one single farthing of; and under the bare interest of which it staggered along like a drunken man: and how this debt came to be we are now going to see.

502. The burdens which the Big Sovereign left on the backs of his people were such as no nation before ever had to bear; and we are now going to see something of the manner in which they were expended. This will be best shown in a yearly amount of the taxes, charges of collecting them, interest of the debt, charge for the army, the civil list, the secret services, and, as a specimen of squandering, sums voted to be given to the clergy of the church of England, over and above their enormous clerical revenues. These things I shall now show in a TABLE, taken from the accounts laid before Parliament; and the reader will please to attend particularly to the charges for the army. In those charges he will discover how the "*victories*" were obtained. He will see that the victories were exactly proportioned to the sums expended. He will please to observe that the sum, in every case, applies to the expenditure of the *previous year*; because the account is made up to the 5th of January in

each year, and states that which has been expended during the preceding year. For instance, we find that, in 1816, the army cost 34,207,384*l.*, that is to say, it had cost that during the preceding year, which was the *year of the battle of Waterloo*. Thirty-four millions of sovereigns ! If the glorious WELLINGTON had a good lot of them in the field, as he probably had, no wonder that GROUCHY ran away and left BUONAPARTE in the lurch : the very jingle of them must have frightened a fellow like GROUCHY half out of his senses. The great captain could not well take them all into the field : for they would have loaded (statute baggage weight) a hundred and eighty-nine four-horse wagons ; and would have required seven hundred and fifty-six horses, and a hundred and eighty-nine drivers. The drunken nation did not think of these things when they were roasting the sheep and oxen to celebrate the victories of the great captain. One more remark before I insert the table ; and that is, that the receipts and expenses of Ireland are not included, until we come to the year 1818, the TABLE, up to the year 1817, relates only to the receipts and expenses of Great Britain. .

HISTORY OF

[Chap.

1. Year.	2. Taxes.	3. Charges.	4. Debt.	5. Army.
—	—	—	—	—
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1809..	63,132,994	2,499,994	20,772,871	17,201,061
1810..	65,602,801	2,591,614	20,996,052	18,463,094
1811..	66,365,534	2,614,766	21,555,401	18,536,300
1812..	64,890,600	2,779,191	22,100,845	23,869,359
1813..	65,936,661	3,273,242	22,890,912	24,987,362
1814..	61,058,585	3,504,938	24,055,665	29,469,520
1815..	62,004,713	3,573,261	26,292,496	33,795,556
1816..	63,402,101	3,653,662	27,176,980	34,207,384
1817..	67,235,000	3,740,985	31,392,889	13,047,582
1818..	61,736,344	4,351,836	29,166,084	9,614,864
1819..	62,230,527	4,403,756	28,873,687	8,517,044
1820..	61,872,588	4,240,236	29,737,639	9,450,650
1821..	62,982,156	4,136,641	29,126,972	8,926,423
1822..	58,857,477	3,257,492	29,469,161	8,932,779
1823..	58,670,341	3,277,130	30,921,494	7,698,973
1824..	61,305,129	4,015,182	29,215,906	7,351,991
1825..	62,150,526	3,697,641	29,066,352	7,573,026
1826..	62,902,573	3,898,377	28,060,288	7,579,631
1827..	58,138,843	4,030,337	28,076,958	8,297,360
1828..	58,417,729	3,966,456	28,239,847	7,876,682
1829..	61,140,734	3,890,151	28,095,506	8,084,042
1830..	59,365,031	3,797,038	29,155,611	7,709,372

6. Navy, — £.	7. Ordnance. — £.	Civil List. — £.	Secret Service. — £.	Parsons. — £.
17,467,892	5,108,900	1,474,147	68,767	—
19,236,036	4,374,184	1,697,092	175,000	100,000
20,058,442	4,652,331	1,651,296	175,000	100,000
19,540,678	4,557,509	1,582,096	175,000	100,000
20,500,339	5,111,082	1,748,349	175,000	100,000
21,996,624	3,404,527	1,708,526	175,000	100,000
21,961,566	4,489,729	1,702,121	175,000	100,000
163,73,870	3,736,424	1,702,120	119,115	200,000
9,516,325	2,661,711	1,742,000	50,000	100,000
6,473,062	1,441,073	2,434,969	50,000	100,000
6,521,714	1,407,714	2,495,706	40,000	100,000
6,395,553	1,528,209	2,659,963	80,000	100,000
6,387,799	1,401,585	2,459,462	60,000	100,000
5,943,923	1,337,923	2,398,764	25,000	100,000
4,945,642	1,007,821	1,057,000	22,000	100,000
5,458,151	1,364,328	1,057,000	50,000
6,161,813	1,407,308	1,057,000	38,000
5,849,119	1,567,087	1,057,000	56,000
6,540,634	1,869,606	1,057,000	56,000
6,414,787	1,914,403	1,057,000	53,000
5,667,969	1,446,972	1,057,000	49,000
5,902,339	1,569,150	1,057,000	45,000

503. In the above table the pounds only are preserved, shillings, pence, and farthings, are omitted. Column 2 expresses the gross receipt of taxes within the year; that is to say, the money taken from the people in taxes. Column 3 shows the sums paid by the people for collecting the taxes raised upon them. Column 4 the bare interest of the debt; and here we perceive, that the Big Sovereign, during his "*beneficent*" reign, added nine millions a year to this interest, for us to pay in perpetuity. It should be observed, that, besides this enormous mass of taxes, there was received an immense sum annually for what is called the "*crown estate*," quite sufficient of itself for all the purposes of carrying on good government in England. I beseech the reader to look at the sums charged for *secret services*. Four times greater in amount than the whole annual expense of the civil government of the United States of America, including ten ambassadors which they send to Europe. I beg him also to look at the sums given to the clergy, in addition to all their immense clerical revenues. In this table we have exhibited to us the real causes of the crippled state of this once powerful country; the real causes of all its present distresses and troubles; this TABLE exhibits to us the consequences, the punishment which we have to endure for our aristocracy having carried on a twenty-two years' war against

the people of France and America. Here we see the cause of the poor-law projects; and of the approaching demolition of the established church; here we see the real causes of all that now affrights people of property; and here we see, in these causes, the effects of the profound ignorance, as well as of want of justice, in those who have had the management of the affairs of this nation for many years.

504. From such burdens laid upon a people, great suffering on the part of that people is inevitable. It is impossible that you can take away people's means without making them poorer than they were before. Then, the partiality of taxation was extreme. While the rich paid a tax of twenty per cent. on their wine, the poor had to pay a tax of two hundred per cent. on their beer. While the land-owners paid no duty on legacies, and on probates of wills, an enormous duty was paid on *personal property*; that is to say, the property which consists of moveable effects, or of money; so that, while the heir or legatee of a lord received a landed estate from his predecessor, without paying a farthing, the heir or legatee of a farmer or tradesman, had to give to the government a considerable portion of the amount of the legacy, or of the effects. You had only to open the tax-book to see who it was that had made the laws; and to see that, while it was the great

who had contracted the debt, it was the little who had to pay the interest of it. The debt arising out of the war against the people of France, rendered it necessary to maintain an army nearly ten times as great as was maintained in time of peace before that war. It was impossible to collect fifty millions of sovereigns in a year, without the constant presence of the bayonet; and, when all these expenses came to be doubled in reality, as they were by PÉRI's bill, they produced a state of poverty heretofore unheard of in England; the dresses of the people became mean and shabby; their food poor and miserable; the cottages of the labourers passed away from them to the few who throve by the system of taxation; unable to brew beer at their own houses, as had always been the custom, they got into the habit of assembling in places appropriated to the retail of that necessary article; too poor to provide themselves with dwellings, and with household stuff, the young people resorted to illicit intercourse; the character of the working people, the great mass of the community, became wholly changed, during this regency and reign of "*beneficence*"; while it would be unjust not to observe that the vicious example set by those who ought to have set a good example, must have had some share in the producing of this melancholy change.

505. In the church, too, the abuses became

enormous. Of thirteen thousand parishes and townships, nearly one-half were destitute of resident incumbents; while the poor stipendiariats who officiated were left with incomes inferior to those of journeymen tradesmen. In two hundred and fifty-eight of the parishes the churches had been suffered to fall down, and none had been built in their stead. In 2626 of the parishes the parsonage-houses had been suffered to fall down and disappear; and in 2183 the parsonage-house was not fit to live in. Besides this, by the uniting of parishes, the income of the incumbents had been greatly augmented, while the duty performed had decreased in the same degree. Large benefices, yielding from five hundred to a thousand pounds a year, were swallowed by the dignitaries of the church, by the deans and chapters, while the parson who performed the duty was left with a pittance hardly sufficient to maintain human life on bread and water. In some cases with *less than ten pounds a year*; and in hundreds of cases with less than fifty pounds a year; while the aristocracy and their relations, as bishops, deans, prebendaries, masters of colleges, and the like, took away the fruits of the benefices. Thus the people were injured in this way: the revenues were carried away out of the parishes where they arose, to be expended at places of fashionable resort; and, the clerical poverty arising from

these causes to the officiating clergy, was to be relieved, not by a just law to compel the aristocratical clergy to give up that which they took away from the parishes; but by a law to tax the people, and out of those taxes to give relief to the poor clergy, who had been made poor by their superiors in the church.

506. Poverty has always been the parent of crime; and so it was in this case. Crime increased, in some cases, ten-fold, and in every case five-fold, during this "*beneficent*" regency and reign. It is impossible to make men starve in England, without their making an effort to save life. Yet nearly to the starving point many of them must be brought, or this enormous mass of taxes could not be raised. Hence sheep-stealing, which was a crime not committed twice a year in a whole county, became so frequent a crime that the judges uniformly ceased to inflict the penalty of death, which the law awarded. In short, theft, whether in town or country, became so frequent, that the poorer part of the people thought that there was no harm in it, not being able to persuade themselves that God had made the bread and the meat not to be eaten by anybody, except those who perform none of those labours which cause the bread and the meat to come.

507. In order to repress these crimes, new and severe laws were passed during this regency and reign. Acts were made felony which were be-

fore civil trespasses; and a simple trespass was made punishable by justices of the peace, without trial by jury, if the damage were *under five pounds*; but, if above five pounds, the aggrieved party must bring his civil action. So that, if the lord pulled down the poor man's house, or shot his cow, or pig, if either were worth five pounds, the poor man must bring his action, and give the lord a *trial by jury*; but if the poor man walked across the lord's park, the damage being under five pounds, the justice of the peace had the power of making the poor man pay what damages he thought fit under five pounds, or instantly to send him to jail, without any trial by jury, and there to sentence him to hard labour. In the case of the *game*, that which was formerly, at the utmost, a penalty of five pounds, became *transportation for seven years*, and that, too, by the sentence of justices of the peace assembled in quarter sessions.

508. In the cities and great towns the usual justices of the peace, constables, and watchmen, were set aside, in the tenth year of the reign of "*the sovereign*;" and their place supplied by a police establishment *à la Bourbon*, with commissaries at the head, and with subaltern officers; with men in an uniform dress, and with others, *dressed like other people*, going about into all companies and places, and communicating what they saw and heard to the commissaries.

This last-mentioned "IMPROVEMENT" was the invention of the above-mentioned Sir ROBERT PEEL, who eulogized this "*beneficent*" reign.

509. By degrees, the ancient and excellent, and mild and happy, government of England, had been giving place for a long while to a species of government which every principle of English law held in abhorrence.

510. This police establishment seemed to have consummated the work, and to have laid the foundation of Austrian slavery, or of a dreadful convulsion. A great deal had been done to change the character of the government, during the reign of George the Third. Perhaps a diligent searcher would find out, between the years 1760 and 1830, five hundred acts of parliament, inflicting pecuniary, or corporeal, punishment, *without trial by jury*. The great principle of our constitution; the very basis of it, is, that no person shall be punished, either in purse or person, without a verdict of twelve men assenting thereunto. At the close of the reign of the Big Sovereign there might be, perhaps, five thousand criminals in jail, undergoing punishment; and of the five thousand the probabilities are that not one thousand had been tried by a jury.

511. Such was the "*beneficent*" regency and reign of the Big Sovereign. To draw a contrast between England as he found it at his birth, and

GEORGE IV.

as he left it at his death, could not be done without rending the heart of the man who drew it, if that man were an Englishman. But, in the excess of evil there is frequently good. Whether this nation be destined to experience that good within a few years, or to drag along toiling under the evil for many years, is more than any man can foretell. At present, it is wise in us to endeavour to understand the true causes of the deplorable state of the country, and to prepare our minds for those consequences which common sense bids us expect to arrive.

END OF THE HISTORY.

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